University of Alberta

Teacher Practice in Instrumental Music Programs in Four Small Senior Secondary Schools in Alberta: An Ethnographic Study

by

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Abstract

This dissertation reports the findings of an ethnographic study of the teaching practices of four teachers of Instrumental Music who work in small senior secondary schools in Alberta, Canada. It employed an adaptation of Bourdieu's theory of practice as its conceptual framework.

There were three major findings. The first finding is that teachers in low enrollment situations tend to recognize them as problematic. Faced with such situations, these teachers tend to adapt in the following ways: (a) implementing multi-instrumentalism, changing the approach to the literature, and using unconventional instrumentation, in order to address inherent problems with instrumental balance; (b) focusing on positive opportunities for public performance and withdrawal from musical festivals, in order to provide appropriate validation for their students and themselves; and (c) using the practices related to instrumental balance, ways of distinguishing more experienced and technically able students from the rest of the group, and non-musical rewards, in order to maintain student interest. A fourth set of practices (i.e., multi-instrumentalism achieved through student rotation across instruments) to address issues related to group engagement, were not explicitly identified by the teachers but became apparent by my own observations. The teachers' adaptation to the low enrollment context comes at a cost: abandonment of curricular implementation conventions or standards, in order to achieve curricular objectives.

The second finding is that Bourdieu's model adequately describes the resultant praxis, but does not provide us with guidance on which practices to select or an overall

framework of classroom practice within which they can be embedded. The third conclusion is that the findings about low enrollment strategies support the development of an evolving model that is predicated on the uncoupling of curricular objectives from the conventions of curricular implementation. This evolving model deconstructs the process of musicing and shows how music can be taught in a way that could be appropriate for low enrollment contexts. This model is inspired by Elliot's Praxiological Model of Music Education, particularly as it relates to the contextual basis of musicing; concepts of post-Fordism; and the innovations in practice by the music teachers themselves, in low enrollment situations.

Dedication

To my father, Basil Vivian Newton

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Table of Contents

Chapter One: Introduction 1

Posing the Question for Study 1

Literature Review 6
Overview 6
The Standard Music Education Literature 6
Research Literature on the Practice of Music Educators 11

The Conceptual Framework of the Study 25
Overview 25
The Aesthetic Argument Versus the Praxiological Argument 25
Bourdieu's: A very brief introduction 26
Central concepts: The cultural arbitrary, symbolic violence, habitus, capital, field, and practice 31
The cultural arbitrary 32
Symbolic violence 33
Habitus 37
Capital 38
Field 39
Practice 41
The Conceptual Framework 42

Chapter Two: Method 44

The Study Approach 44

Site Selection 45

Informed Consent 46

Methods Used 47
Overview 47
Classroom Observations 47
Interviews 49
The Questionnaire 52

Validity 54
The Question of Observer Bias 54
Autobiography 55
Methods of Ensuring Validity 57
A Note on the Final Member Checks 61

Chapter Three: Context 64

Introduction 64

The Nested Fields of Stevensville 65
The Community 65
The School 68
Overview 68
The Principal 69
The Instrumental Music Program 69
Overview 69
The Music Teacher 72
Summary of the Stevensville Site 73

The Nested Fields of Thomasville 74
The Community 74
The School 79
Overview 79
The Principal 79
The Instrumental Music Program 80
Overview 80
The Music Teacher 82
Summary of the Thomasville Site 83

The Nested Fields of Louisville 83
The Community 83
The School 85
Overview 85
The Principal 86
The Instrumental Music Program 87
Overview 87
The Music Teacher 89
Summary of the Louisville Site 90

The Nested Fields of Davisville 91
The Community 91
The School 92
Overview 92
The Principal 93
The Instrumental Music Program 94
Overview 94
The Music Teacher 98
Summary of the Davisville Site 99

Site Comparisons 100

A Comparison of the Communities 100
A Comparison of the Schools 104
Overview 104
The Principals 105
A Comparison of Instrumental Music Programs 106
Overview 106
The Teachers 107
The Students 109

Chapter Four: Pedagogical Practice 114

Introduction 114

Pedagogical Practice in the Stevensville School Instrumental Music Program 115
A Sample Class 115
The Teacher Comments on Her Practice 123
Summary of Classroom Practices 131

Pedagogical Practice in the Thomasville School Instrumental Music Program 133
A Sample Class 133
The Teacher Comments on His Practice 141
Summary of Classroom Practices 143

Pedagogical Practice in the Louisville School Instrumental Music Program 145
A Sample Class 145
The Teacher Comments on His Practice 153
Summary of Classroom Practices 158

Pedagogical Practice in the Davisville School Instrumental Music Program 160
Overview 160
A Sample Class 160
A Sample Sectional 164
A Sample Senior Combo 167
The Teacher Comments on His Practice 169
Summary of Classroom Practices 175

Chapter Five: A Comparison of Pedagogical Practices across Schools 183

Size-Dependent Practices 183
Overview 182
Practices to Address Instrumental Balance 182
Practices to Address Validation 187

Practices to Address Student Interest 189
Practices to Address Group Engagement 189

Size-Invariant Practices 191
Overview 191
Consistency 191
Non-Technical Discussion 192
Perfunctory Warm Ups 193
The Use of Performance-Oriented Literature 193
Modeling 193
Humor 194
Taking Issue with Time 195

Unique Differences Among the Schools 196
Overview 196
The Polar Opposites 197
The Schools in the Middle 201

Chapter Six: Conclusions and Discussion 206

Answering the Question 206

Adequacy of the Conceptual Framework 207

In Search of a Model of Praxis for Low Enrollment Contexts 210
Criteria for an Appropriate Model 210
Basing the Model on Actual Practice 211
An Emergent Model for Low Enrollment Contexts 221

The Significance of These Findings 226

Suggestions for Further Research 228

A Suggested Teaching Practice 229

Bourdieu and Elliot: Recapitulation, and Coda (Riffing on a theme) 231

References 237

Appendix A: The Development of Wind-Percussion Ensemble 244

Appendix B: A Systemic View of Enrollment Trends and Course Completions in Instrumental Music in Alberta 250

Appendix C: The Teacher's Consent Form 260

Appendix D:	The Administrator's Consent Form	261
Appendix E:	Introductory Remarks	262
Appendix F:	Information Letter to the Parents of Instrumental Music Students at Thomasville School	264
Appendix G:	The Parental Consent Form	266
Appendix H:	Schedule of Observations and Interviews	267
Appendix I:	Questionnaire About Extracurricular Participation in Music	268
Appendix J:	Performers and Genres Purchased or Downloaded by Student Subjects	269

List of Tables

Table 1	Instruments Used at Study Sites	70
Table 2	The Music Program Schedule at Davisville School	97
Table A1	Instrumentation Specified in the Manuscript Edition of Holst's First Suite in E flat for Military Band	246
Table A2	Instrumentation Specified in the Revised Edition of Holst's First Suite in E flat for Military Band	247
Table A3	The Instrumentation of the Wind Ensemble as Prescribed by Fennell	248
Table B1	Categorization of Alberta Schools by Grade Structures	252

List of Figures

Figure 1	A Schematic Model of an Instructional Strategy for Low Enrollment Instrumental Music Programs, Showing the Progression of Functions	222
Figure B1	Number of Alberta Schools with Either Continuous or Discontinuous Completions of Instrumental Music, by Category of School	253
Figure B2	Percent of Total Alberta Schools within a Category that Had Continuity of Their Instrumental Music Program	254
Figure B3	Alberta Schools Offering Instrumental Music as a Function of Average Student Population (in Increments of 50)	255
Figure B4	Percentage of Alberta Schools with Continuous Completion of Instrumental Music as a Function of The Size of The School's Student Population	256
Figure B5	Percentage of Alberta Schools with Continuous Completion of Instrumental Music as a Function of School Population (Ranked and Sorted into Groups of 25)	257
Figure B6	Total Senior High Student Population and Total Enrollment in Instrumental Music in Alberta, 1971 to 1988	258
Figure B7	Average Enrollment in Instrumental Music in Alberta Expressed as a Percentage of Total Enrollment, from 1970 to 1988	259

Chapter One: Introduction

Chapter 14 of Green and Vogan's *Music Education in Canada* describes the growth of instrumental music programs following the Second World War. The authors observe that

> Because of Alberta's sparse population, the province sustained a number of small schools, and conditions were not ideal for the development of instrumental music. In most situations progress can be attributed to a few resourceful and aggressive individuals who forged ahead before there was any official sanction or support for this branch of school music. (Green and Vogan, 1991, p.381)

Though Alberta's population has increased significantly in the last 50 years it is my contention that conditions are still not ideal for the establishment of viable Instrumental Music programs in many of the schools in the province. Notwithstanding the fact that the human resources that are required for an Instrumental Music program may not be available, schools continue to attempt to establish and maintain these programs. Teachers who are hired to teach Instrumental Music in those schools that lack the resources to successfully run an Instrumental Music program may experience duress inasmuch as their financial well-being, professional reputations, and even their self-identity rests on their ability to maintain a program under adverse or problematic conditions. Given that some music teachers may work under such conditions for many years it is not unreasonable to ask how they accomplish a feat that is so fraught with difficulty.

Posing the Question for Study

This dissertation examines the practice of four Instrumental Music teachers who work in small senior high schools in Alberta. The *Instrumental Music 10-20-30*

curriculum guide published by Alberta Learning (1991) describes the intended outcomes of the Instrumental Music Program. The guide states: "The Senior High School Instrumental Music Program may consist of a wind/percussion program and/or strings program" (p. 4). To conform with curricular guidelines a high school Instrumental Music Program may be either one or both of the options specified. No other options are given, implying either that there is no acceptable third option or that such an option has yet to be found.

In effect teachers are restricted to one of the two options or program types specified by Alberta Learning because alternative programs are not commercially available. As a music educator with over 25 years of experience, I am not aware of any high school music teacher in Alberta who has attempted to structure a program outside of the conventions associated with a traditional wind-percussion ensemble. For this reason, the parameters of such an ensemble merit examination.

In music, an ensemble is any one of a grouping of musical instruments. Wind-percussion instruments produce sound by being blown or by being struck; a wind-percussion ensemble consists of woodwind, brass, and percussion instruments. Those outside the field of music education might call an ensemble of wind-percussion instruments a wind band.

Gustav Holst's *First Suite in E Flat for Military Band* (1909) employed an instrumentation that by convention became the standard for the wind-percussion ensemble (Hunsberger, 1994). This convention was adapted by Fennell (1953) and closely resembles the recommended instrumentation in the curriculum guide. Fennell required a minimum of 38 players for the following instruments: 21 reed instruments, 17

brass instruments, and possibly other instruments (e.g., percussion) as desired. This list is more fully outlined in Appendix A.

Instrument manufacturers promoted the institutionalization of the wind-percussion ensemble early in the 20th century (Fonder, 1988). Indeed instrumental music training using the wind-percussion model was established because of their efforts, and promoted in schools. This process is outlined in greater detail in Appendix A. By adopting a standardized instrumentation and composing musical selections for that instrumentation, comparison between such ensembles is facilitated, through music contests. Within this context, the size and instrumentation of the group are of paramount importance, because of the way in which music for the ensemble is arranged.

A musical composition can be arranged for different instrumental ensembles. It is possible to arrange a song so that it can be sung to the accompaniment of a piano or of a symphony orchestra. There are arrangements of music specific to wind-percussion ensembles. If there are two flutes in the ensemble, as Fennell recommends, then one part would be written for first flute and another different one, for second flute. The music is written in such a way that all parts should be played if the piece is to be performed properly. If there are not enough players for all the necessary instruments, the musical performance will sound as if something is not quite right; it will not be up to standard. Therefore, the resultant musical performance is dependent upon the relationship between the instrumentation of the musical group and the composition itself (i.e., the arrangement of the musical piece that is played).

Balance of sound is a fundamental concept in music performance and is essential to the successful performance of a composition. Such balance is dependent not only on

the level of musicianship of the performers but also on the instrumental resources of the ensemble. Therefore having enough players to accommodate the minimum size requirements of such ensembles is critical. The list of instruments required to meet the standards for a wind-percussion ensemble in the Alberta Learning curriculum is essentially the same as Fennell's list of 38. To what degree can this standard be met, in Alberta?

Between 1970 and 1988 the average enrollment of Alberta's senior secondary student population in Instrumental Music was 5.46%, with a standard deviation in that enrollment of 0.34%. (Determination of the average enrollment in Instrumental Music after 1988 is problematic because of changes in the reporting practices of Alberta Learning. My assumption is that the average enrollment in Instrumental Music after 1988 is similar to the average enrollment in Instrumental Music prior to 1988.) Given that 99% of all instances should occur within six standard deviations of the average (i.e., within plus or minus three standard deviations), it is highly improbable that a school will have less than 4.44% [5.46% - (0.34% X 3)] or more than 6.48% [5.46 + (0.34% X 3)] of its population enrolled in Instrumental Music. Appendix B contains a detailed discussion of these calculations and the data on which they are based.

In order to be musically viable, a wind-percussion ensemble ought to have at least 30 musicians, that is, 8 less than Fennell recommended. It is highly probable that a senior secondary school with more than 676 students will have enough students enrolled in Instrumental Music to have a viable wind-percussion ensemble. For the purposes of this study, these are called large schools. Similarly it is highly probable that a senior secondary school with less than 463 students will not have enough students enrolled in

Instrumental Music to have a viable wind-percussion ensemble. For the purposes of this study these are called small schools.

Only the practices of those teachers whose programs are based on the wind-percussion model are examined in this dissertation. The instrumentation of the wind-percussion ensemble model is specified in the Alberta *Instrumental Music 10-20-30* curriculum. The curriculum does not specify the total number of students needed in order to meet the demands of the literature associated with this model. In my view, such high school Instrumental Music programs need to have at least 30 players; yet, in fact, the actual size of many high school Instrumental Music student populations is less than half of that.

In short, here is the dilemma for Instrumental Music teachers in many Alberta high schools: To fulfill the curriculum requirements, the music teacher must construct a conventional ensemble of an assumed size that is, in many instances, greater than the student body available to fill it. Thus the teacher faces the challenge of not being able to adequately perform the literature for wind-percussion ensemble. The logical solution, using music arranged for small ensembles, is hampered by the lack of musical arrangements available to accommodate small ensembles with unconventional instrumentation. Thus my question for this study is: How do music teachers who work in small senior secondary schools in Alberta respond to the difficulties that are encountered in an Instrumental Music program that are related to, or a function of, school size?

Literature Review

Overview

In this section I examine the relevant literature related to the practice of music education, looking particularly at that dealing with educational practice (prescribed or observed) in small schools. This literature is of two distinct kinds: (a) standard music education literature that prescribes specific practices related to teaching instrumental music at the high school level, and (b) research literature that describes actual teaching practice. I have focused on the music education literature rather than the general education literature because, as McCoy (1985) and Taebel (1990) point out, the music educator's practice is substantially different from that of other educators.

The Standard Music Education Literature

The standard music education literature that is relevant to this study includes Adams (2001), Colwell and Goolsby (1992), Hoffer (1973), Janzen (1985), Kinney (1980), Kohut (1973), Mercer (1970), Otto (1971), Pegram (1973), Pizer (1976), Walker (1998), and Weerts (1976). Almost all of these authors agree that teaching music through small music groups has virtues.

Nowhere in the literature is the issue of size addressed more fully than in the discussion of small music groups or ensembles. A small ensemble refers to any one of a number of standardized groups of musical instruments (such as a brass or woodwind trio, quartet, or quintet), requiring from three to about eight players. Such ensembles are seen as superior training vehicles compared to the use of larger groups (Weerts, 1976). While usually heterogeneous, that is, comprised of various instruments, homogeneous groups

using multiple players of the same instrument are also possible. As stated previously, the instrumentation of most small ensembles is standardized by convention.

Several authors wrote that the greatest benefits gained from participating in such groups are effective training, motivation, and high levels of participant satisfaction (Adams, 2001; Colwell & Goolsby, 1992; Kinney, 1980; Kohut, 1973). Otto (1971) concurred, speaking of the importance such groups place on the individual:

> Here the role of the individual assumes greater relative importance since he is likely to be the only one playing a particular part. The individual in the small ensemble tends to pay closer attention to the various elements of performance since mistakes are not covered by others, as would be the case in a band of fairly large proportion. (pp. 50-51)

All of these authors make two assumptions about these ensembles: (a) that they are standardized (i.e., consist of a conventional grouping of instrumentation), and (b) that they are part of a larger instrumental music program and are thus intended to complement the musical experiences that students have as members of larger groups. In other words, small group instruction is seen as a curricular strategy in the context of a larger class (Adams, 2001); the entire music program does not consist of small ensembles. Therefore, applying their suggestions to small schools whose music program may consist only of small ensembles and where students' choice of instrument prevent the formation of standardized groupings must be taken with caution.

Nevertheless, the authors identify several problems with ensembles that are worthy of note. For example, Colwell and Goolsby (1992) identified the following: (a) scheduling, (b) varying levels of ability within small numbers, and (c) dependence on the teacher. They identified the effect of size and the manner in which it would affect the learning process:

> To create an ensemble of students whose levels of ability are comparable is perhaps possible only in a large school. In smaller schools, the group will usually be uneven, and the more capable students will have to wait for the less capable players or even help them with their parts. This in itself can have learning advantages if it is properly handled so that no resentments or antagonisms occur. (pp. 45-46)

However, they offer no strategies for dealing with this problem.

In addition to the list of problems above, others have identified the areas of continuity, student enrollment, balance, and appropriate literature. Each is described in turn.

In his primer on administrative problems for upper level undergraduate and graduate students in music education Walker (1998) referred to the issue of continuity of music programs in small schools. He stated that

> The music educator who is solely responsible for the music program in a small school will submit a budget that combines general, vocal, and instrumental needs in a single request package. In this situation, the music educator is also responsible for the continuity and balance of the program. (p. 82)

Though Walker recognized two problems associated with small school size, continuity and program balance, he provides no strategies to address these problems.

Student enrollment is closely related to the issue of continuity. Hoffer (1973) offered strategies for securing adequate enrollment in music programs, including scheduling changes to accommodate more potentially interested students, direct and indirect recruitment drives of limited duration, and ensuring that the student's first rehearsal is a pleasant one.

The issue most often identified as related to small size is that of balance. Here balance refers to the balance of an ensemble's instrumentation. Such instrumentation is standardized; each instrument has a different part to play and it is the playing of all the

parts that results in a balanced, fully-realized performance of a composer's or an arranger's intentions. As I suggested earlier programs in small schools often have fewer students than are required to meet the standard instrumentation. Moreover, students' interests in specific instruments may disrupt the overall balance. In other words, several students may prefer trumpet and no one, oboe, thus disrupting balance as well.

Hoffer (1973) addressed the problem of balanced instrumentation in wind-percussion ensembles. The smallest ensemble that he identified as a wind-percussion ensemble required 40 students (compared to the 30 students that I previously suggested as being the minimum number of students required to meet the Alberta curriculum). Similarly, Pegram (1973) suggested 40 to 50 students; Janzen (1985) suggested between 42 and 47 students. To provide balanced instrumentation these authors suggested ensemble sizes that are larger than the probable size of the average high school Instrumental Music class in small Alberta schools. It is unlikely that such schools would be able to have a conventionally-defined band and that the problem of balance would be endemic to such small classes.

Two kinds of solutions to what I term the size-balance problem appear in the literature. One solution, put forward by Pizer (1976), suggests specific instrumental groupings of 11, 17, and 25 instruments. This solution does not address the issue of student interest or the issue of adequate instrumentation to address the standard literature. The other solution is to use homogenous rather than heterogeneous ensembles (Kinney, 1980; Otto, 1971). Although unorthodox, this approach has some benefits. For example, Kohut (1973) stated:

> In [an] . . . ensemble involving several identical instruments, players can switch parts allowing everyone the experience of playing the first part as well as the

> lower parts. Everyone experiences the glamour of the first part and the importance of the lower parts, and becomes more tolerant of the other player's problems and appreciative of their [sic] responsibilities. This is one of the best ways of ensuring that the second and third parts in band or orchestra will be well played. These are also some of the same reasons why many students find jazz band participation so enjoyable and musically rewarding. Everyone has an independent part to play, and every part is important to the total sound of the group. (p. 217)

Another problem that has been identified is the lack of an appropriate literature or scores (Weerts, 1976). Kinney (1980) offered three solutions: (a) having the students in a given class use a method book designed for a particular instrument, with the students simply transposing the materials in that book for their own instrument; (b) having the players of specific instruments in the class play the material in the method book as written, with the remaining players transposing their music to accommodate the specified instrument; or (c) using actual graded band music (i.e., music specifically designed for school bands and categorized by the level of competence required to play it).

To summarize: There appears to be consensus on the benefits that accrue to students who play in small ensembles. Nonetheless, several problems related to small groups are identified: scheduling challenges, variation in levels of ability, teacher dependence, program continuity, student enrollment, the problem of size-balance, and the lack of appropriate literature. The authors appear to be better at problem identification than at proposing solutions. Nonetheless, Pizer's (1976) accommodation of smaller ensemble sizes, Otto's (1971) and Kinney's (1980) comments on the value of heterogeneous ensembles, and Kinney's (1980) solutions to the dearth of appropriate literature merit consideration in the small school setting.

Research Literature on the Practice of Music Educators

Most of the research literature on the practice of music educators ignores the issue of school size. An exception is Mercer's (1970) work which is described below.

Mercer (1970) compared band programs in 133 large and 89 small American high schools. The large schools enrolled an average of 1993 students while the small schools enrolled an average of 699 students. While the average enrollment in the small schools in Mercer's study exceeds the level of enrollment adopted in this study to define small schools (463 students or less), two of his findings are noteworthy. The first is that on average, 7.41% of the total student population was enrolled in band. Note that Mercer only visited schools with band programs; if he had calculated the percentage of the total student population enrolled in band across all schools (with or without band programs) instead the percentage would have been lower. This would suggest that the Alberta enrollment statistics (5.46% of the entire student population) cited earlier might be comparable to what Mercer found. Second, there were declines in enrollment between the first and second years in a high school of 15%, between the second and third years of 24%, resulting in an overall decline (between the first and third years) of 35%.

Much of the work reviewed here on the practices of effective music educators focuses on their personal qualities and the strategies they used. These include studies by Mercer (1970), Lindley (2003), Wolfersberger (2001), Epstein (2002), Saunders (2003), Chen (2000), and King (1992).

Mercer (1970) claimed that *"Techniques and methods are not related in any systematic way to producing an outstanding band"* (p. 75, italics in the original) and suggested that an outstanding band is the product of an outstanding teacher: one who is

dedicated, competitive, committed to professional development, hardworking, charismatic, and respectful of students.

Several of these studies deal with the development of appropriate tools by which to evaluate music teachers. In order to develop such an evaluative tool, Lindley (2003) reviewed the existing studies of effective music teachers. She identified important music teacher behaviors that she grouped into the following categories: professional skill (good musicianship and competence), management skill (various management techniques related to rehearsals and classes), communication skills and patterns (both verbal and non-verbal), and pedagogical skills (including lesson planning and execution, and the ability to engage the students). Lindley also advocated for the inclusion of modeling, a behavior that was recognized in the teacher assessment literature only by Taebel (1990) and Robinson (1996).

After compiling her review, Lindley surveyed 180 secondary school choral directors in Oklahoma about relevant behaviors that should be included on the checklist. There was general agreement about what to include, with no significant differences between groups of respondents except for the size of the school in which they taught and the respondents' ages. In terms of school size the differences were: Teachers in relatively large schools believed in the importance of ratings by adjudicators in music festivals as indicators of teacher effectiveness; those in other school categories did not. Teachers in small schools viewed their involvement in non-musical extracurricular activities as an important teacher behavior, while those in larger schools did not (Lindley, 2003).

From the respondents' perspectives, in at least two evaluative criteria, size matters. First, in terms of adjudication: Because balance of instrumentation is size-

dependent and affects the quality of sound, teachers in large schools are at an advantage because of larger student enrollment. Second, in terms of non-musical involvement: teachers in large schools would find the issue of involvement in non-musical extracurricular activities as irrelevant since there would be sufficient enrollment in music to result in their being involved solely in music-related extracurricular activities.

Wolfersberger (2001) identified those instructional practices that could be developed into evaluative criteria for school administrators in their assessment of junior high school music teachers. Of the five categories of practice in the resultant checklist, that of classroom strategies is of greatest relevance here. Classroom strategies are further subdivided into four categories: (a) teacher behaviors (e.g., adaptability, modeling, positive approach), (b) motivational strategies (e.g., competitive challenge, esprit de corps, humor), (c) generic teaching strategies (e.g., homework, routine, sequencing); and (d) music teaching strategies. While it is beyond the scope of this literature review to articulate them here, Wolfersberger's work is interesting because of the number of strategies that he enumerates and the fact that he describes them. However, like many others whose work is reviewed here, he does not discuss the relationship between strategies and school size.

As least one study suggests that an effective music teacher is also an effective classroom manager. Epstein (2002) investigated the specific discipline techniques of six music teachers identified as superior classroom managers and disciplinarians. These teachers worked with several different kinds of musical ensembles: string orchestras, beginning band classes, and concert bands. Epstein found that those behaviors previously identified in the research literature as being indicative of effective classroom

management (such as by Lindley, 2003) were in evidence. Four of Epstein's findings are significant because they had not previously been identified in the research literature: (a) effective teaching is a byproduct of superior classroom management; (b) the accrued years of teaching at specific school sites contributes to teacher efficacy; (c) superior disciplinarians have appropriate teaching materials available to them, such as a podium, baton, blackboard, and straight back chairs; and (d) effective teachers post photographs of their students on the classroom walls.

Three studies examined effective practice by looking at exemplary teachers (Saunders, 2003; Chen, 2000; King, 1992). Only the latter had as its subject a high school music teacher. Although the practice of teachers who work with the lower grade levels will differ in obvious ways from that of a senior high Instrumental Music specialist, there are enough commonalities in the practice of music teaching to include Saunders' and Chen's studies in this review.

Diane Garrett, the subject of Saunders' (2003) dissertation, taught in a school that enrolled between 600 and 700 students, of who between 20 and 25% enrolled in the music program each year of the 10 year period covered by the study. By comparing the literature with the results of interviews about Garrett's teaching practice, Saunders provided the picture of a conventionally exemplary teacher whose practices are of limited relevance here because she never taught in what I consider to be a small school. Her school exceeds the population size in my definition of a small school for my study.

Chen (2000) described the teaching practice of Dr. Beth Ann Miller, an elementary general music specialist with 28 years of teaching experience in Maine. Dr.

Miller's pedagogical practice was informed by her understanding of constructivism, a theoretical position based on the work of Piaget, Bruner, and Vygotsky.

According to Chen (2000) radical constructivists assert that knowledge is acquired through action and organizes one's experience; and that learning cannot take place without one being engaged in activity because it is through activity that meaning develops. The constructivist position is well suited to music education; in this view, to optimize the students' learning of music, they must be involved in the making of it, rather than just learning about it, say, by reading books. Moreover, constructivists advocate the use of any strategy for the acquisition of knowledge that works (regardless of the philosophical position within which it was derived). Simply put: a strategy that works is a good one.

From a constructivist perspective, Chen argued that the purpose of music education is not to provide students with a specific set of musical skills but rather to provide them with a set of general concepts that will enable them to independently continue their musical involvement. Chen noted three of Miller's strategies that were consistent with constructivism: (a) Miller provided her students with wait time thereby allowing them to reflect upon their experiences before formulating an answer to any problems that she posed; (b) she provided scaffolding to support their thinking processes; for example, in music a metronome is a form of rhythmic scaffolding that helps to ensure rhythmic accuracy; and (c) she used metacognitive questioning to have her students reflect on the thinking in which they were engaged.

From time to time, classroom management issues required Miller to retreat from constructivist practice. Constraints of time and energy often required a more obviously

didactic approach; achieving a conventional understanding through constructivist practice could not be effected within the 20 to 25 minute time frame of Miller's lessons. As a result of her observations, Chen suggested two practices to facilitate constructivist practice in the elementary music class: (a) selecting proper-sized learning tasks, and (b) allowing students to direct the lesson.

Before describing the last study of an exemplary teacher in this review, I want to point out another work related to constructivism, that of Shively (2002). He argued that one of the major goals of music education is to provide the learner with the requisite skills to function as an independent musician and advocated adopting the principles of the constructivist approach that is, learning in which the student acquires knowledge through action. Unfortunately, he did not propose any strategies by which to achieve this.

The only dissertation that addressed the practice of an exemplary teacher of high school instrumental music is King's (1992) investigation of the teaching practices of David Dunnet. Mr. Dunnet spent his entire teaching career at Oak Bay High School and its feeder schools in Victoria, British Columbia. My interpretation of King's work is colored by the two years that I spent at Oak Bay High School as a student in Mr. Dunnet's band program. Moreover, prior to beginning my own teacher training, I spent four months observing David Dunnet teach.

Though King provided an accurate account of Dunnet's practices, I take issue with his analysis of the relationship between those practices and the context of that practice. For example, King described Oak Bay in the following way:

> Unlike many cities and suburbs, Oak Bay is really a "village." To this day Oak Bay has not lost its village charm. Once you enter the town you immediately feel the less frantic pace associated with life here. You quickly sense that you are in a part of Victoria that is heeped [sic] in tradition where the quaintness of village life

> has been preserved – much of it based on English tradition. Tea rooms, bakeries and exclusive dress shops adorn Oak Bay Avenue along with the many potted plants and hanging baskets. Narrow side streets and English gardens remind one of the "old" country. (King, 1992, p. 31)

Though it is accurate, King's description missed the very essence of Oak Bay. Though an undeniably quaint community, Oak Bay was, and still is, less a village and more a bastion or enclave for the wealthy and privileged. The pressures to succeed and conform in Oak Bay are as great, or greater than, those in any other community with which I have firsthand experience. King's description of Oak Bay High School was equally problematic.

Given the differences that exist between my emic, or insider's, view of Oak Bay and Oak Bay High School and King's etic, or outsider's, view of the same, and recognizing King's deep admiration of David Dunnet, I am impressed by the degree to which we can agree on the accuracy of his findings.

The primary difficulty with King's work is that he failed to recognize that the context in which a practice is conducted undoubtedly influences the nature of that practice. It is highly questionable as to whether or not David Dunnet would have been as successful in a less privileged community, or if he would have been obligated to change his teaching practices to reflect the nature of the community in which he worked. I suspect that he would have changed his practice because David Dunnet was an exemplary teacher; on this King and I agree. For my dissertation the primary importance of King's work is twofold: (a) the recognition of the role of observer bias that can still convey a relatively accurate picture from the perspective of someone with another point of view, and (b) the important role played by context.

Several studies attested to the important of context in influencing teaching practice. These include the work of Pogonowski (2002), Rich (2003), and Duling (1992).

Pogonowski (2002) examined the role of context on both teaching and learning in music education. She defines context as "a determined place and time, either real or simulated" (p. 21). However, she merely established that such a relationship exists.

Rich (2003) examined the practice of American music teachers to determine how past mentors, intensification, isolation, marginalization, professional development, and career stage contributed to the development of those practices. Intensification results from the increased expectations for production imposed on laborers by management who exploit both the separation of management and labor and the economic uncertainty created by economic change to effect the imposition of their expectations. Rich suggested that the intensification of work prevents teachers from having the time to keep professionally current. Though most teachers have historically worked in isolation, he noted that the isolation experienced by music teachers is more extreme than that of others. Moreover as a unique curricular domain, music is a marginalized subject within the overall curriculum.

Rich made pertinent points about the importance of context. He argued that "The idea that context dictates practice is central to understanding the influences that guide and, to some extent, control the pedagogical choices that teachers make" (p. 158). He added: "The demands and expectations placed upon us [i.e., music teachers] because of our peculiar teaching setting may prevent us from teaching how and what we believe is best. Even if our past experiences, both positive and negative, have helped us to establish

a vision of what we wish to accomplish in our teaching practice, the influence of context may interfere with our ability to realize such a vision" (p. 169).

Duling (1992) examined the practice of two exemplary general music teachers who taught in middle schools in the United States. He used Shulman's Model of Pedagogical Reasoning and Action (Shulman, 1987) as a conceptual framework. He studied: (a) the factors that contributed to their acquisition of content (i.e., musical) knowledge and pedagogical knowledge, (b) the factors that they cited as being meaningful in their personal and professional development, (c) the effect of teaching context upon pedagogical practice and organization, and (d) the extent of those practitioners' awareness of their pedagogical-content knowledge. As a result, he developed the Social Mediation Theory in General Music. Perhaps his contribution of greatest relevance here is the inclusion of context. Shulman's model (which influenced the development of Duling's) does not include context; Duling's model does. However Duling's model is problematic because the direction of flow between the components of the model is never outward from the component labeled personal motivations and characteristics.

Two studies address the importance of context with respect to music students rather than music teachers. They are Kehrberg (1984) and Marjoribanks and Mboya (2004).

Kehrberg (1984) studied the relationship between musical aptitude, general musical achievement, attitude toward music, school music participation, school music achievement, and students' outside-of-school environment in the community of Goessel, Kansas, a small German-Mennonite community north of Wichita. His study affirmed the

positive role played by a community in which the parents enjoyed singing and were highly supportive of the music program. Not surprisingly, there were high levels of participation by the students from such homes.

Kehrberg acknowledged that Goessel was atypical. At the time of the study the music program that was in place reflected the importance of music to the community in which the school was situated. There were relatively large numbers of students enrolled in the music programs of the Goessel high school. However, he did not examine teaching practice in any detail.

Marjoribanks and Mboya (2004) investigated the relationships between family background, family and school learning environments, goal orientations, and interest in music among 18 year-old IsiXhousa speaking students in South Africa. Their findings suggested that students in "middle social status/high parental-aspiration families" had significantly more interest in music than did students in "low parent-aspiration contexts" (p. 161). The conceptual framework for this study was based on the work of both Coleman (1997) and Darling and Steinberg (1993); the latter suggested "family influences are analytically separable into components such as human and social capital." (p. 157). By implication, such capital may influence teaching practice; in other words, having students whose interests are positively disposed to music because of their home environments could affect enrollment and attrition rates as well as behaviors such as practicing at home.

Two studies address the importance of experience in informing teacher practice. They are Lemons (1998) and Kruger (1998).

In her doctoral dissertation, Lemons (1998) investigated the teaching practice of two elementary general music teachers. She was guided by three research questions:

> 1. In what way do personal history and context shape the teacher knowledge of two elementary general music teachers?
>
> 2. What images do the two teachers have for music teaching?
>
> 3. What kinds of teacher knowledge are operating in the music teaching of these two elementary general music teachers? (pp. 4-5)

The first and third are directly relevant here.

Lemons reported that "in the case of both teachers, there is little doubt of a strong correlation between their contexts and their knowledge about music teaching" (p. 252). Though both teachers possessed graduate degrees in music education and were in Lemon's view well informed with respect to current research literature, research methods, different teaching methodologies, and the philosophy of music education, there were appreciable differences in their teaching practices that reflected the nature of their personal involvement with music.

While one of the teachers actively participated in music making within her church, the other interacted with music primarily as a listener. The former teacher was considered to have a more holistic approach, which Lemons inferred to be related to her actual experience in making music. The latter teacher's approach was considered to be more fractured; she adopted strategies on the basis of their being recommended, rather than from personal experience, resulting in inappropriate application. Thus Lemons suggested that teaching practices that are guided by externally imposed expectations may not be as productive as one might hope. She also stated that experience in the classroom has a role in teaching practice. In other words, a music teacher with actual experience,

and perhaps current practice, in making music would be more effective than one who did not.

Drawing upon Foucault's idea of discursive practice, Kruger (1998) studied the practice and the language used when referring to the practices of two teachers of junior high general music working in Norway. He stated that "in our everyday speech we usually use the term to 'construct' something as a reference to the act of 'putting pieces together' in order to build something. Teaching music can also be seen that way (p. 1)." This has implications for the potentially appropriate models that can be used to inform teaching practice and suggests that process models for the construction of material goods have application to the small school band.

Kruger (1998) also raised the issue of power in the practice of music educators, stating that

> What seem to be simple acts of classroom practice in fact contain certain profound and complex principles of authority, legitimacy, and power relations. Power/knowledge aspects are implicit in the ways authority relationships are constituted, in the way positions are established with regard to who should regulate the discursive space, and in ways of communicating and negotiating. (pp. 271-272)

Though not a study of teaching practice per se Allsup's (2003) work revealed a potentially useful teaching strategy. Framed within the discourse of democratic action and collaborative learning, he described an ethnographic study of collaborative composition processes involving nine band students divided into two groups. One group functioned as a garage band while the other worked within the classical and jazz traditions. (A garage band consists of a vocalist plus electric guitar, bass guitar, and drums, and usually plays relatively simple pop or rock music.) All of the student participants were at least intermediate-level performers on their band instruments. Those

students who chose to participate in the garage band elected not to play the instruments they usually played in band.

The focus of Allsup's work was not the evaluation of the musical products of these collaborations. However it is clear from his account that the musical products of the garage band and jazz ensemble processes were received more favorably than those of the classical process. Two aspects of this study are relevant here. First, the students in the garage band and jazz ensemble used improvisation and whatever other compositional abilities they had. This demonstrated that it was possible to establish a musically viable small ensemble at the student level, without there being a pre-existent literature (i.e., music pieces written specifically for that kind of ensemble). The students improvised instead.

Second, the possibility of requiring that students engage in multi-instrumentalism in the classroom is clearly suggested. In other words, the kind of music learning that occurs in that type of ensemble (i.e., one in which students are expected to play a number of different instruments) may be potentially more productive than the kind of music learning that occurs in a conventional ensemble. This offers a potential alternative to convention, in situations in which conventional ensembles are not practical because of their relatively large size requirements compared to student populations in small schools. Even though these two strategies are not consistent with the conventional program, they are appropriate for small-sized groups.

To summarize: Over the past several decades there has been an increasing interest among researchers in teacher practice in music education as shown by the growing number of doctoral and masters theses in the area. The studies that have directly

examined the practice of music educators are necessarily confined to looking at the practices of a relatively small number of teachers. Generalizing from such small samples is risky. But taken together with the larger studies on evaluative criteria, there appears to be an emerging consensus about the characteristics of exemplary music teachers. These include being effective disciplinarians, having significant content knowledge, treating their students ethically, modeling musical performance for their students to emulate, and having a sense of humor. These characteristics appear to be independent of the size of the program within which the teacher works.

Research on the acquisition of pedagogical knowledge suggests that the context in which that knowledge is acquired significantly influences its development. Moreover, direct classroom experience is necessary for effective practice. Only a small portion of the research that has been reviewed for this study has examined the teaching practices of instrumental music teachers and little of it related directly to those teachers working in small or very small programs. There are, however, a few hints that size may matter such as Mercer's (1970) study of enrollment and attrition. In addition, there are Lindley's (2003) findings of the different view of music teachers about appropriate evaluative criteria in large compared to small schools; those differences related to adjudication and to involvement in non-music extracurricular activities. As I have explained, in the application of those criteria, size matters.

The Conceptual Framework of the Study

Overview

In this section I briefly review recent developments in the philosophy of music education in my search for a conceptual model for this study. I focus on the work of Pierre Bourdieu as being the most useful in delineating the factors that deserve attention in my research. And from that, I adapt his theory of practice to provide the conceptual framework for this study.

The Aesthetic Argument versus the Praxiological Argument

Over the past 40 years or so, the dominant philosophy of music education has been aesthetic, rooted in Kant with the claim of a universal aesthetic. While this position is evident in the works of Leonhard and House (1959), Hoffer (1973), and Battisti (1995), the most influential advocate, in my view, is Reimer (1970) in his adoption of Absolute Expressionism. He stated that

> The views of Absolute Expressionism seem to be most suitable to mass education in a democratic society; most true to the nature of art, as art is conceived in our times; and most germinal of guidelines for teaching and learning music and the other arts in all aspects of educational program … The aesthetic components in a work of art are similar in quality to the quality inherent in all human experience. When one shares the qualities contained in an artwork's aesthetic content, one is also sharing in the qualities of which all human experience is made. The relation between the qualities of the artwork and the qualities of human experience is felt by the perceiver of the work as "significance." . . . The residue of sharing the significant aesthetic qualities of the artwork is a deeper sense of the nature of human life. (pp. 24-25)

Ironically, Reimer failed to acknowledge the importance of social context while, at the same time, he uses it to support his argument. He stated that

> Any aesthetic position to be used as a basis for a philosophy [of music education] must be relevant to the society in which we live and to the general conditions

> under which American education operates. Important as Marxism-Leninism has been in history . . . it is quite peripheral to our concerns. The same can be said about Freudian aesthetics and Oriental aesthetics and Medieval aesthetics. All of these, and others, can be of use for particular purposes, but they can not be the foundation on which our philosophy is to be built. (p. 14)

Some philosophers of music education have rejected the aesthetic concept, arguing for a philosophy based upon an understanding of music as a social construct. The most notable advocate of this position is Elliott (1995). He recognized a multiplicity of musical practices rather than a single, universal one. He also recognized the importance of context as a formative influence in the development of musical taste and praxis. He proposed a model of *musicing* which recognizes four dimensions: (a) the music, (b) the musicer (the player of the music), (c) the musicing (the interaction between the music and the musicer), and (d) the context, with the first three forming a triadic relationship within the larger dimension of the fourth. He elaborated his model by adding a model of music listening which has four dimensions as well: (a) the listener, (b) listenable (i.e., that to which the listener listens), (c) the listening, and (d) the context, again forming a triadic relationship within the larger dimension of the fourth. Finally, he incorporated both models into one, joined at the triangular vertices labeled music and listenable and embedded within a context-within-a-context structure.

Rather than assuming the claim to universality that is the hallmark of the Kantian aesthetic, Elliott recognized that musical practice and taste are always situated within social contexts that vary over time and space. In this way, Elliott's model can be understood as being postmodern. Moreover in its recognition of the validity of a plurality of aesthetic claims, his model is resonant with much critical theory. For the purposes of

this dissertation, Elliott's recognition of the importance of context is his model's chief merit.

In summary, philosophies of music education have tended to espouse either aesthetic or praxiological views. One of the fundamental differences between the two is with the role of context. In the former, context is invariant; the idea of what constitutes music (and also good music practice) is considered to be universal. In the latter, music is dependent on the context in which it is produced; in other words, the praxis of music is embedded in context.

In this dissertation I assume that the context of a small high school Instrumental Music program is a significant influence on the practice of the music teacher in that program. My position is praxiological. However, while Elliott's model is useful in acknowledging the importance of context, it is not sufficient to help frame my study. So I turn now to a theorist from outside of music education: Pierre Bourdieu.

Bourdieu: A very brief introduction

Pierre Bourdieu is, without question, one of the foremost sociologists of the past century. Born in Dengvin, France to working class parents on April 1, 1930, he was the first member of his family to complete high school. After graduating from the Lycee Lous-le-Grand in Paris, he attended the Ecole Normale Superieur where he studied philosophy with Louis Althusser. His classmates included Jacques Derrida. Following graduation Bourdieu spent a year teaching high school before he was drafted into the French army and stationed in Algeria. It was while he was completing his military duties in Algeria during the Algerian War of Independence that Bourdieu's interests moved

towards anthropology and sociology. Upon completion of his military duties Bourdieu remained in Algeria and taught at the University of Algiers. Lechte (1994) and Solerno (2004) give conflicting accounts of Bourdieu's life following his military service. Lechte suggests that Bourdieu taught philosophy at the Sorbonne between 1959 and 1962. Solerno suggests that he returned to France in 1960, that he worked as an assistant in the Faculty of Arts of the University of Paris, and that he accepted a teaching position at the University of Lille in 1961. Both agree that by 1964 he became Director of Studies at L'Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes, and that in 1982 he succeeded Raymond Aron in the Chair of Sociology at the College de Frances. Bourdieu died of cancer on January 28, 2002.

It is my contention that Pierre Bourdieu's work provides a conceptual framework with which we can understand teaching practice generally, and, for the purposes of this dissertation, the practice of music teachers who work in small schools in particular. Though Bourdieu published numerous works throughout his career I focus here on three: *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste* (Bourdieu, 1984); *Reproduction in Education, Society and Culture* (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990); and *Outline of a Theory of Practice* (Bourdieu, 1977). The importance to sociology of these three works cannot be overestimated. The International Sociological Association ranks *Distinction* 6th, *Reproduction in education, society and culture* 48th, and *Outline of a theory of practice* 81st among the 100 most influential books on sociology published in the past century (International Sociological Association, n.d.).

Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste (Bourdieu, 1984) is Bourdieu's analysis of the relationships between class membership within French society

in the 1960s and taste. Bourdieu's analysis suggests that the material conditions of one's existence constrain one's tastes and that the expression of these tastes constitutes an important means by which class membership can be determined. Taste is, in Bourdieu's view, reflective of necessity. Those individuals who do not have the economic means of satisfying more expensive tastes generally express a preference for those commodities that they can afford.

In *Reproduction in Education, Society and Culture* (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990) describes the mechanisms of social reproduction. The most important of these mechanisms are symbolic violence and habitus. Symbolic violence is, in contemporary society, the means by which the dominant segment of society, operating in its own interest, imposes its continuing dominance. Violence perpetrated symbolically, as opposed to physically, is recognized as legitimate by a significant portion of the members of all segments of modern society.

Bourdieu suggests that those material conditions that produce taste also produce habitus: a durable system of transposable dispositions. On this view taste is a specific form of habitus. Habitus constrains how individuals view the social space in which they are embedded and how the individual views himself or herself in relation to that social space. Habitus produces habitus.

Bourdieu's argument in *Reproduction* is presented axiomatically. After presenting an original proposition, essentially *the* axiom of the work, Bourdieu elaborates his argument through a series of propositions and glosses. Bourdieu's original proposition reads:

> *O. Every power to exert symbolic violence, i.e. every power which manages to impose meanings and to impose them as legitimate by concealing the power*

> *relations which are the basis of its force, adds its own specifically symbolic force to those power relations.* (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977, p.4, italics in the original)

The first proposition that follows it reads: *All* **pedagogic action** *(PA) is, objectively, symbolic violence insofar as it is the imposition of a cultural arbitrary by an arbitrary power.* (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977, p. 5. italics in the original)

The axiomatic presentation of Bourdieu's thesis can be problematic for those of us who initially fail to recognize the difference between subject-dependent and subject-independent ontologies. Brubaker (2004) rather nicely describes the distinction and its importance to Bourdieu's work. He states that

> Bourdieu's metatheory ... is constructed with reference to a set of problems that he subsumes under the rubric "objectivism vs. subjectivism." His argument for the need to "transcend" this opposition – an argument that finds repeated expression throughout his work – runs as follows. Objectivism explains social life in terms of mind-independent and agent-independent elements such as material conditions of existence; subjectivism, by contrast, appeals to mind-dependent and agent-dependent elements such as the conceptions and beliefs of individuals. Neither of these one-sided modes of thought can comprehend the "intrinsically double" nature of social reality. Social life is materially grounded and conditioned, but material conditions affect behavior in large part through the mediation of individual beliefs, dispositions, and experiences. Social life exists only in and through the symbolically mediated experience and action of individuals, but these individuals have been formed under definite material conditions of existence, and their every activity – including their symbolizing activity – depends on social facts existing prior to and independently of that activity. Subjectivism ignores the external constraints placed on agents by thing-like social facts and the social formation of every "subject"; but objectivism ignores the "objectivity of the subjective" and the "reality of the representation," because it does not recognize that the experience individuals have in and of social reality and the conceptions they form about it are partly constitutive of that reality. Only a theory based on a conceptualization of the relation between material and symbolic properties, and between external, constraining social facts and experiencing, apprehending, acting individuals, can be adequate for the human sciences. (Brubaker, 2004, p 33-34)

For my purposes here it is essential only that one recognizes the centrality of the notions of "symbolic violence" and the "cultural arbitrary" to Bourdieu's argument.

Outline of a Theory of Practice (Bourdieu, 1977) is an ethnographic study of the Berbers of Kabylia conducted while Bourdieu was stationed in Algeria. Bourdieu's experiences among the Berbers profoundly impacted his view of contemporary French society and, as suggested above, were formative in the development of his interest in anthropology and sociology. Given Bourdieu's training in philosophy prior to his conscription and his own personal history it is perhaps not surprising that Bourdieu was sympathetic with the anticolonial aspirations of the Algerian people. *Outline* is the cornerstone of Bourdieu's oeuvre. (Nice, 1977)

Central concepts: The cultural arbitrary, symbolic violence, habitus, capital, field, and practice

Central to my thesis is Bourdieu's proposition that practice is a function of habitus, capital, and field; i.e. [(habitus)(capital)] + field = practice. (Bourdieu, 1984, p.101) Given the importance of this proposition to my thesis I examine each of these terms and the concepts of cultural capital and symbolic violence before explaining my interpretation of the theory. Before addressing these concepts I illustrate what I see as reluctance on Bourdieu's part to narrowly define his own terms. This reluctance is perhaps most clearly demonstrated in the gloss to proposition 2.3.1. Bourdieu states

> It is all too easy to perceive the limitations inherent in the delegation [of pedagogic authority] when they are explicitly defined, as they are whenever PA [pedagogic action] is exerted by an academic institution; but they are also observed in the case of the PA of the family group (both in the dominant and in the dominated groups or classes). The definition of the legitimate educators, the legitimate scope of their PA and its legitimate mode of imposition, takes very different forms, for example, depending on the kinship structure and the mode of succession, considered as a mode of transmission of power and economic goods. (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977, p. 26)

Bourdieu's reluctance, or perhaps even aversion, to narrowly define his terms is amply illustrated in the following discussion of each of his terms.

The cultural arbitrary. Bourdieu address the concept of the cultural arbitrary specifically in the gloss to proposition 2.2.2. He states that

> The cultural arbitraries reproduced by the different PAs [i.e., pedagogic actions] can never be defined independently of their place in a system of cultural arbitraries more or less integrated depending on the social formation but always subject to the domination of the dominant cultural arbitrary. Failure to recognize this fact is the source of the contradictions both of ideology concerning the culture of dominated classes and nations and of drawing-room chatter about cultural "alienation" and "dis-alienation." (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977, p. 23)

Bourdieu's claims about the cultural arbitrary are fairly clear: the cultural arbitrary is defined systematically and not atomistically. A particular cultural artifact cannot be separated from the system of artifacts of which it as part and function as a culturally arbitrary element. The culturally arbitrary is the system of cultural products, values, and symbols embraced by the dominant faction as evidence of the legitimacy of the dominant faction's domination.

If one accepts the existence of a dominant faction it would appear that it is inextricably linked to the dominated faction; the existence of the dominant faction is dependent upon that faction's continued exploitation of its relationship with the dominated faction. The elimination of the dominated faction by the dominant faction would lead inexorably to the demise of the dominant faction. In order to reproduce itself the dominant faction must also reproduce the dominated faction and its relationship to the dominant faction.

In order to maintain and exploit this relationship the dominant faction needs to capitalize upon cultural values that the dominated faction accepts as legitimate. This is

the essence of the hegemonic argument: the dominated faction is complicit with the dominant faction in its own domination. The direction of the flow of cultural values, which Bourdieu sees as being imposed through force from above, is problematic. It is, in my view, easier to accept that there is one cultural system which is exploited more successfully by one segment of society than it is to accept that there are two competing cultural systems one of which is imposed by force, either openly or through some concealed mechanism, on the other. It is just this successful exploitation of social relationships that differentiates the members of one segment, the dominant segment of society, from another, the dominated segment of society.

Addressing the topic of musical semiotics Charles Boiles argues that:

> We are becoming increasingly aware that, within a cultural milieu, diverse sorts of age groups, social level, educational group, occupation, religion, political affiliation, and national origin are among the many factors that affect the process of interpreting a given sign. In other words, although Western Europeans share aspects of their cultures, each cultural group is, in itself, multifaceted, and this affects responses to investigators seeking to establish patterns in the interpretation of musical signs. [Quoted in Denney, 2001, p.44]

Boiles' assertion that, notwithstanding the multiplicity of cultural groups, Western Europeans "share aspects of their culture" is just the claim I wish to make. There appears to be some core value or set of values that are common to both the dominant and the dominated factions of society and which permit the dominant faction to continue its domination. Viewed from this perspective the dominant and dominated factions are part of the same cultural system. For the moment I would like to put aside the concept of the cultural arbitrary; I will return to it in the final section of the last chapter.

Symbolic Violence. While I have difficulty with some aspects of Bourdieu's conception of the cultural arbitrary I have no such difficulty with the notion of symbolic

violence, though my understanding of this term differs in some respects from that of Bourdieu.

I begin by examining the concept of symbolic violence as it is defined by others. Hansen defines symbolic violence as "a mild, invisible violence which is exercised upon people with their *complicity*, misrecognized as such and thereby considered legitimate." (1998, p.368)

Connolly and Healey state that

> Symbolic violence represents the way in which individuals can contribute toward their own subordination by gradually accepting and internalizing those very ideas and structures that tend to subordinate them. It represents a process whereby an individual's experiences of the social world and of the various social relations and structures that comprise it come to progressively influence and structure their taken-for-granted ways of thinking and behaving. (Connolly & Healey, 2004, p.513)

Bourdieu comes as close to defining symbolic violence as he does anywhere when, in the first proposition of *Foundations of a Theory of Symbolic Violence*, quoted earlier, he suggests that

> *O. Every power to exert symbolic violence, i.e. every power which manages to impose meanings and to impose them as legitimate by concealing the power relations which are the basis of its force, adds its own specifically symbolic force to those power relations.*(Bourdieu & Passeron,1977, p.4, italics in the original)

On this view the power to exert symbolic violence is the power to impose meanings and to impose them as legitimate. The question of whether the notion of symbolic violence can be meaningfully appropriated to the study of music needs to be addressed. In order to proceed with this appropriation I begin by examining the concept of violence.

Speaking at the Sixteenth Summer Conference of the Institute of on Religion in the Age of Science (August, 1969) John Spiegel suggested that "Violence lies at the

extreme end of a spectrum of aggressive behavior. It is characterized by acts of physical force aimed at the severe injury or destruction of persons, objects, or organizations." (Spiegel, 1969, p. 223-224)

Speaking at the annual meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science in Washington, D. C. in January, 1982, Kenneth Boulding suggested that

> Violence, in the broadest sense of the word, is the deliberate creation of "bads" or negative goods, that is, things which make people worse off. In this sense it is opposed to production, which is the deliberate creation of goods which make people better off. In its largest meaning, therefore, violence is negative production. (1983, p. 425)

Though violence undoubtedly is something that most of us would like to avoid it is easy to imagine scenarios in which we are morally obligated to act in a violent manner; that is we can conceive of scenarios in which violence produces positive and desirable results. For example: the police would be derelict in their duty if, in a situation in which a child's life was threatened by an individual who had the means to carry out that threat, they did not use whatever means was necessary to save the child including "physical force aimed at the severe injury or destruction of [those] persons." (Spiegel, 1969, p. 223) Acting violently in this scenario, if required, produces a "good": the child is removed from peril.

There are a range of easily imaginable acts that could possibly remove a child in this situation from danger. All of these acts can be conceived of as lying on a continuum of violence with some actions being more violent than others. On this conception even the least violent action is nonetheless violent. Any action that attempts to impose order on a situation or a person can be conceived of as being "violent."

Now to return to Bourdieu's definition of symbolic violence: a power is symbolically violent if it "*manages to impose meanings and to impose them as legitimate by concealing the power relations that are the basis of its force.*" (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977, p. 4, italics in the original) The question of musical meanings is addressed by Martha Denney in her recent doctoral dissertation. (Denny, 2001) Arguing for an approach to musical semiotics that appropriates the semiotic concepts of Charles Peirce, Denney states that such an approach provides

> [A] sophisticated theoretical framework that allows us to understand how meaning is generated, manipulated, negotiated and passed on, through very specific processes in very specific systems, yet it allows for a variety of "meanings" depending on the locations and experience, both immediate and historical, of the listeners, participants, and so on. Since it is so specific and complex, it can allow us to analyze how – in very specific ways and in very specific contexts – music takes on meanings for actual people, and how these meanings do – or do not – become codified and systematized in cultural settings, and over time. It speaks to the dilemma of claiming that music is meaningful without being able to say, definitively "what" it means, and therefore allows us to jump over the obstacle altogether, and explore how, where, when and for whom musics mean. (Denney, 2001, p.62-63)

If we interpret Bourdieu's definition of symbolic violence to mean that the "meanings" imposed by an act of symbolic violence are in fact specific meanings, we come to a dead end. If we follow Denney and abandon the notion of the "meaning" of a piece of music in favor of the "meanings" of that music we can successfully appropriate the notion of symbolic violence. In this view then music is a kind of symbolic violence which potentially imposes meanings, whether legitimate or not, on some segment of society. It does so with the complicity of the members of that social segment. As a form of symbolic violence music is, in this view, productive of two fundamental goods: identity and social order.

I suggest that the practice of music teachers in the classroom is a kind of second-order symbolic violence. That is, it is not music as a form of symbolic violence that produces order in the classroom, it is the successful realization of the music object that produces, or fails to produce, that order.

Habitus. Bourdieu offers the following "definition" of habitus:

> The habitus is both the generative principle of objectively classifiable judgements and the system of classification (*principium divisionis*) of these practices. It is in the relationship between the two capacities which define the habitus, the capacity to produce classifiable practices and works, and the capacity to differentiate and appreciate these practices and products (taste), that the represented social world, i.e., the space of life-styles, is constituted.
>
> The habitus in not only a structuring structure, which organizes practices and the perception of practices, but also a structured structure: the principle of division into logical classes which organizes the perception of the social world is itself the product of internalization of the division into social classes. Each class condition is defined, simultaneously, by its intrinsic properties and by the relational properties which it derives from its position in the system of class conditions, which is also a system of differences, differential positions, i.e., by everything which distinguishes it from what it is not and especially from everything it is opposed to; social identity is defined and asserted through difference. This means that inevitably inscribed within the dispositions of the habitus is the whole structure of the system of conditions, as it presents itself in the experience of a life-condition occupying a particular position within that structure. The most fundamental oppositions in the structure (high/low, rich/poor etc.) tend to establish themselves as the fundamental structuring principles of practices and perception of practices. As a system of practice-generating schemes which express systematically the necessity and freedom inherent in its class condition and the differences between conditions, which it grasps in the form of differences between classified, classifying practices (products of other habitus), in accordance with principles of differentiation which, being themselves the product of these differences, are objectively attuned to them and therefore tend to perceive them as natural. (1984, p.170-171)

According to Bourdieu, education, of which the formal school system is only a constituent part, is one means of inculcating habitus. Bourdieu's analysis of taste in French culture, the central project of *Distinction*, suggests that habitus is strongly correlated with social origins and educational attainment – which is itself correlated with social origins.

The effects of habitus are not as apparent when the social context in which they are observed does not change. Every time an individual enters a social situation in which she interacts with a group of individuals with whom she is familiar and with whom she shares a similar habitus, because they all share a similar set of material conditions of existence, the habitus ought to produce a similar set of behaviors. The effects of habitus are most clearly apparent when an individual changes social context. An individual who encounters a group of people from a different social stratum will experience a kind of social awkwardness.

Capital. Capital is a relatively unproblematic concept. In *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste* Bourdieu defines capital as "the set of actually usable resources and powers." (Bourdieu, 1984, p. 114) At various points in the three major works reviewed for this study Bourdieu identifies several distinct forms of capital: biological, cultural, economic, educational, linguistic, social, and symbolic. Bourdieu states that

> One can construct a space whose three fundamental dimensions are defined by volume of capital, composition of capital, and change in the two properties over time (manifested by past and potential trajectory in social space).
> The primary differences, those which distinguish the major classes of conditions of existence, derive from the overall volume of capital, understood as the set of actually usable resources and powers – economic capital, cultural capital and also social capital. The distribution of the different classes (and class fractions) thus runs from those who are best provided with both economic and cultural capital to those who are most deprived in both respects. (1984, p.114)

He adds later that

> The differences stemming from the total volume of capital almost always conceal, both from common awareness and also from 'scientific' knowledge, the secondary differences which, within each of the classes defined by overall volume of capital, separate class fractions, defined by different asset structures, i.e., different distributions of their total capital among the different kinds of capital. (ibid; p. 114)

In *Outline of a Theory of Practice* Bourdieu defines capital as "the instrument for appropriating the institutional equipment and the mechanisms indispensable to the functioning of the field, and thereby also appropriating the profits from it." (Bourdieu, 1977, p. 184-185)

Consistent with his reluctance to define his terms Bourdieu offers very few definitions of any of the specific forms of capital. In *Reproduction* he does however define cultural capital as

> *[T]he cultural goods transmitted by the different family PAs* [i.e., pedagogic actions], *whose value qua cultural goods varies with the distance between the cultural arbitrary imposed by the dominant PA and the cultural arbitrary inculcated by the family PA within the different groups or classes."* (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977, p.30, italics in the original)

Field. Though the notion of "field" is central to Bourdieu's claims with respect to practice the term does not appear in the index to either *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste* or *Outline of a Theory of Practice*; this despite the fact that Chapter 4 of *Distinction* is entitled *The Dynamics of the Fields*.

The first paragraph of this chapter reads:

> There are thus as many fields of preferences as there are fields of stylistic possibles. Each of these worlds – drinks (mineral waters, wines and aperitifs) or automobiles, newspapers of holiday resorts, design or furnishing of house or garden, not to mention political programmes – provides the small number of distinctive features which, functioning as a system of differences, differential deviations, allow the most fundamental social differences to be expressed almost as completely as through the most complex and refined expressive systems available in the legitimate arts; and it can be seen that the total field of these fields offer well-nigh inexhaustible possibilities for the pursuit of distinction. (Bourdieu, 1984, p. 226)

From these remarks it is possible to argue that Bourdieu sees a field as "a system of differences" that permits the expression of "social differences." Moreover a "field" is also a "world."

In Gloss 2 to proposition 2.1.1.2 in *Reproduction in Education, Society and Culture* Bourdieu states that

> The specific form taken by the conflicts between the legitimacy-claiming agencies in a given field is always the symbolic expression, more or less transfigured, of the relations of force which are set up in this field between the agencies and which are never independent of the relations of force external to the field (e.g. the dialectic of excommunication, heresy, and challenges to orthodoxy in literary, religious or political history). (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977, pp.18-19)

The note to this statement, which appears on page 68, advises us that "The word 'field' must be understood in a strong sense, as a 'field of forces.'"

Elsewhere Bourdieu claims that

> Insofar as it defines the primordial conditions of production of the difference between habitus, the structure of class relationships, regarded as a field of forces which expresses itself both in directly economic and political antagonisms and in a system of symbolic positions and oppositions, supplies the explanatory principle of the systematic characteristics which the practice of the agents of a determinate class takes on in the different areas of activity, even if that practice owes its specific form in each case to the laws proper to each of the sub-systems considered. (Bourdieu, 1977, pp. 203-204)

This statement suggests that the intuitively appealing interpretation of "fields" as "areas of activity"' is warranted.

Finally, for my purposes here, Bourdieu states that

> [T]he extent to which the pedagogic and, a fortiori, intellectual practices (e.g. research activities) of a category of agents obey the law of 'routinization' varies directly with the extent to which this category is defined by its position in the ES [i.e., educational system], i.e. varies inversely with the extent to which it participates in other fields of practice (for example, the scientific field or the intellectual field). (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977, p. 60)

Bourdieu claims that the greater the number of different "fields of practice" implicated by the practice of "a category of agents" the less routine is the practice of those agents. Herein there appears a claim that a "field" can be construed as a "field of practice" and that, at least in some ways, the practice constitutes the field.

Practice. Though "practice" is central to Bourdieu's arguments the term does not appear in the index to *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*. If one searches the index to *Reproduction in Education, Society and Culture* for "practice" one is redirected to "habitus," "reproduction," "structure," and "transferability." Understandably "practice" is referenced a number of times in the index to *Outline of a Theory of Practice*. On page 11 of *Outline* Bourdieu asserts that

> The science of practice has to construct the principle which makes it possible to account for all the cases observed, and only those, without forgetting that this construction, and the generative operation of which it is the basis, are only the theoretical equivalent of the practical scheme which enables every correctly trained agent to produce all the practices and judgements of honour called for by the challenges of existence. (Bourdieu, 1977, p. 11)

Later, on page 72, he observes that

> In order to escape the *realism of the structure*, which hypostatizes systems of objective relations by converting them into totalities constituted outside of individual history and group history, it is necessary to pass from the *opus operatum* to the *modus operandi*, from statistical regularity or algebraic structure to the principle of the production of this observed order, and to construct the theory of practice, or, more precisely, the theory of the mode of generation of practices, which is the precondition for establishing an experimental science of the *dialectic of the internalization of externality and the externalization of internality*, or, more simply, of incorporation and objectification. (Bourdieu, 1977, p. 72)

For my purposes here it is important to note Bourdieu's clarification that a theory of practice is in fact a "theory of the mode of generation of practices." Finally, also on page 72 of *Outline* Bourdieu observes that

> The structures constitutive of a particular type of environment (e.g. the material conditions of existence characteristic of a class condition) produce *habitus*, systems of durable, transposable *dispositions*, structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures, that is, as principles of the generation and structuring of practices and representations which can be objectively "regulated" and "regular" without in any way being the product of obedience to rules, objectively adapted to their goals without presupposing a conscious aiming at ends or express mastery of the operations necessary to attain them and, being all this, collectively orchestrated without being the product of the orchestrating action of a conductor.

Nothing in Bourdieu's commentary would have us abandon a conventional notion of practice as a repeated or customary action or the usual way of doing something.

In summary: Given the understanding we have arrived at of the individual terms in Bourdieu's theory (i.e., [(habitus)(capital)] + field = practice (Bourdieu, 1984, p.101)) it is reasonable to propose the following interpretation of it: Practice – the way people act or behave – is a function of the relationship between habitus, a transposable system of dispositions – which is itself the product of a people's material existence – capital – their economic, cultural, symbolic and social assets – and the field in which the practice is conducted.

The Conceptual Framework

In terms of this study: the actions of high school Instrumental Music teachers with respect to the music program are a product of the interaction of their predispositions and capital and the context in which their actions take place. High school Instrumental Music teachers are trained in music education programs and required by Alberta Learning to adhere to conventional models of music (e.g., the wind-percussion ensemble). This is a fundamental predisposition, developed in a context (educational institutions) where it is assumed that such programming is possible. All such teachers share certain capital (e.g., education and training in music) yet vary in individual circumstance (e.g., differences in socio-economic and cultural background). The context or field in which Instrumental Music teachers who work in small schools is considerably different from the context in which they received their training and on which high school music programming is predicated. Specifically, the ensemble requirements are based on the assumption of a

minimum number of players (students) that is greater than the school population can often provide. In this context, these teachers are required and indeed trained to require of themselves the production of a program that cannot be produced. Faced with this situation in which the context they find themselves is dramatically different than the one they were trained for and indeed from the one by which they will be evaluated, what actions do they take? In summary, faced with this situation, what do music teachers do? Do they change their practice to accommodate this reality and, if so, in what ways?

Chapter Two: Method

The Study Approach

In order to capture the range of teacher practices in the classroom and the complexity of the context of those practices, I chose an ethnographic approach for this study, As Brewer (2000) states, ethnography

> [I]s the study of people in naturally occurring settings or "fields" by means of methods which capture their social meanings and ordinary activities, involving the researcher participating directly in the setting, if not the activities, in order to collect data in a systematic manner but without meaning being imposed on them externally. (p. 10)

This study incorporates features of both the collective case model described by Brewer (2000) and the compressed ethnography model described by Walford (1991). The collective case model enables a researcher to compare subjects' behaviors and responses in a number of different sites. Such a model is appropriate given my interest in commonalities in problems, behaviors, and strategies that occur across small senior high school Instrumental Music programs. A compressed ethnography, that is, a full ethnographic study completed in a relatively short time, was warranted on two grounds. First, my teaching experience in music provided me with a provisional understanding of the nature of the problems that music teachers might expect to encounter. I believed this would enable me to more quickly grasp the essence of what was occurring in those settings in terms of music practice and music education than an ethnographer who is neither a musician nor a music educator. Second, the financial and time restraints that are imposed upon a study of this kind required that it should be conducted as expeditiously as possible.

Site Selection

Four sites were chosen in order to allow for sufficient comparison without the study becoming overwhelming in terms of data generation. Initially I attempted to gain access to six schools that met the size criterion established for this study (i.e., that had student populations of less than 463), through direct contact with their music teachers during September and October of 2004. In this way I contacted and received agreement from three teachers in the schools I have named Thomasville, Stevensville, and Davisville. A fourth teacher at another school declined because he believed that the program at his school was too small to provide data of interest, despite my protestations to the contrary. A fifth teacher and I agreed that access to his school would be problematic, so I did not pursue it further. And the sixth teacher (at the school I have named Louisville) was contacted through his principal, as I describe below.

After meeting with the music teachers at Thomasville, Stevensville, and Davisville Schools and with their knowledge and approval, I contacted their respective principals. I met with them individually to discuss my research and to determine their willingness to allow me access to their schools. Each quickly agreed to access pending district level approval.

The process by which I gained access to the Instrumental Music classes at Louisville School was different from that described above. I had contacted the music teacher at this school for two reasons: the school was situated between two of the other schools selected for study and thus was convenient, and I already knew the music teacher leading me to believe that permission could be easily obtained. However he had accepted a position at another school and was leaving Louisville within weeks. As a result, I met

with the Louisville School principal to discuss access for the study before he hired the replacement teacher. I asked him to let the new teacher know of my interest in conducting research at the school.

Once that teacher had been hired, I met with him to discuss it further. Initially the teacher was reluctant, possibly because he believed that having a researcher scrutinize his teaching practice during a period of transition would be disruptive. However, he agreed to allow me access to his classes once I explained the nature of my research, the kinds of involvement it would require of him, and my manner of compliance with the ethical guidelines required by the University of Alberta and the Alberta Teachers' Association.

Informed Consent

This research complies with standards established by the University of Alberta (General Faculties Council; University of Alberta, 2002). All of the subjects elected to participate and none withdrew. The issues of privacy, anonymity, and confidentiality have been dealt with by the use of pseudonyms throughout the study.

Upon their agreement to participate, I had each teacher and principal sign a consent form approved by the Faculties of Education and Extension Research Ethics Board. A copy of the teacher and principal consent form is included in Appendices C and D of this study. All of these participants retained a copy of each form for their respective schools.

Next, I sought the approval of the students and their parents for the classes I intended to study. I visited these classes and read the remarks that are included in Appendix E, taking care not to deviate from these prepared remarks. This was the first of

two times that I spoke to the students of these classes en masse. When I first spoke to these students, I also distributed the letter of information for parents (Appendix F) and the parental consent forms (Appendix G).

Methods Used

Overview

An ethnographic study requires a multi-method approach. The methods for this study included observation of music classes; interviews of the teachers, principals, and some music students; and administration of a student questionnaire. Each method is described in turn.

Classroom Observations

After I had obtained the participants' consent, I began visiting and observing the classes. The schedule of observations (Appendix H) was determined by both the school's timetable and logistical considerations. Given the considerable distances between some of the schools, I could not visit them all on a given day and have time left to spend in observation. Conflicting schedules meant that it was generally not possible to observe the music classes in Davisville, Stevensville, and Thomasville Schools on the same day. I could observe classes in both Davisville and Stevensville, and in Davisville and Thomasville, if I chose to observe the after school classes in Davisville. It was never possible to observe classes in Stevensville and Thomasville on the same day. Because there were no afternoon music classes in either Stevensville or Thomasville Schools I could observe classes in Davisville, Stevensville, and Thomasville Schools in the

mornings and observe the afternoon classes in Louisville, on any given day. I observed 33 classes that were 80 minutes in duration and 34 classes that were 40 minutes in duration. In total I observed 67 classes, for a total of 4,000 minutes or 66.7 hours.

As often as possible I was at the school at least 20 minutes before the classes began. I always went to the school office before going to the classrooms to let the school administrators know of my presence in the building.

When possible I spent some time talking with the teachers before their classes began. This enabled me to informally discuss my observations and to familiarize myself with the teachers themselves before the first formal interviews with each of them. Again, the Louisville School was the exception.

It was never possible to visit with the teacher at Louisville School before his senior secondary class began or after it ended. A junior secondary class that I had not obtained permission to observe always immediately preceded his senior secondary class, so I waited in the hall outside of the classroom until that class was finished. I entered the classroom at the same time as, or just slightly before, the senior secondary students. This teacher taught on a part-time basis; he left the school immediately after class to go to the job that he was obliged to take to supplement his income from teaching. Therefore, my informal conversations with him occurred during class time.

I generally sat and took notes during the classes. I did not participate in the lessons and only rarely offered a comment, and then only at the teacher's request. In such cases, I attempted to corroborate the teacher's expressed opinions where this was ethically appropriate. To do otherwise would have undermined the students' confidence in their teacher.

I did not sit in the same place in the classrooms throughout the classes. Rather I changed my position every day to get a different view of the interactions that occurred during the classes. I always sat on the outside of the ensemble and looked in because it would have been disruptive to sit within it.

I recorded my observations in longhand on lined loose-leaf paper during each class. At first I wrote almost constantly; in time, I approached the point of saturation and wrote less frequently. Every evening after each day of observation I transcribed those written observations onto computer files and wrote in a reflective journal. It was my practice to theorize and speculate in this reflective journal from the date I first began observing in the classroom until data collection was completed.

Interviews

Towards the end of March of 2005, after I had spent approximately a month in observation, I began the individual interviews of teachers and principals, along with student interviews. Those students whom I interviewed in three of the schools (Davisville, Thomasville, and Stevensville) were selected by their teachers to be interviewed. In only one instance did I express a desire to interview a particular student; my interest was piqued by the high quality of musicianship of one female student at Davisville School. Unlike the students from the other schools, those whom I interviewed from Louisville School were neither selected by their teacher to be interviewed nor by me. Instead, I interviewed the entire class of three students who happened to be present the day that I had arranged with the teacher to conduct the interviews. I always interviewed students in pairs or in groups of three to enable them to be more comfortable.

However I recognize that by interviewing them together the comments of one student may have influenced the thoughts and comments of the others.

Though I had indicated in my proposal that I would interview parents, these interviews never occurred for three reasons. First, we were unable to arrange a convenient time to meet as a group. Second, in the course of this study I realized that parents' understanding of what happens in classroom particularly at the senior high school level, is informed largely by what they are told by their own children. Under these circumstances, the parents' information is almost always secondhand and therefore would have been redundant. Third, I was inundated with data from the other interviews; duplicative data would have been overwhelming as well as unnecessary.

The first round of interviews was largely informal and non-structured. I wanted to know as much about the interviewees as possible: their personal and professional histories, their family backgrounds, their relationship with the communities in which they worked, their understanding of those communities, and their understanding of their roles in the schools. In other words, I was asking for information about their habitus, capital, and field. I began each interview by asking the subjects to tell me something about themselves. Once the subject started talking I kept my interruptions to a minimum, only asking for further clarification about some point that had been raised. Each of the interviews was recorded on a micro-cassette recorder that I placed on a table between the subject and me. After each interview was transcribed, I sent the subject a copy for review.

The results of these interviews became the basis of the second interviews. I coded the first interviews to determine the kinds of information that were emerging, reflected on the kinds of information that would be relevant, and then developed specific interview

questions for the second round of individual interviews. These questions were meant to address the deficiencies or omissions of the first interviews. If I had not discussed the subject's perception of the community in which he or she worked in the first interview, I ensured that I did so in the second. Similarly, if I had not acquired a sufficiently detailed understanding of the subject's family history in the first interview, I ensured that I did so in the second. This second round was thus more structured than the first.

The second interview began with me offering each subject my analysis of our first interview. I identified the themes that had emerged during my initial coding and asked the subject to comment upon the accuracy of my reconstruction and her perception of my analysis. Then I proceeded to ask the specific questions I had prepared.

The second interviews differed depending upon whether the subject was a principal or a teacher. It became evident that the principals whom I interviewed had not spent a great deal of time observing the teaching practices of the music teachers who worked in their schools. In short, their jobs were sufficiently demanding that they did not have time to observe their teachers teach. Moreover, with the exception of the new teacher at Louisville School, all teachers had been employed within their schools for at least five years. Thus there was no reason for the principal to observe them. Inasmuch as the central research question of this study has to do with teacher practice, a significant portion of the second interviews with teachers focused on my perception of their individual teaching practices.

Because the focus of my second interview was teacher practice, I did not formally interview the students a second time; it would have been unethical to do so. However, I did meet to give them a copy of the transcript of the first interview and discuss my

resultant analysis, even though I did not generate additional data with the students during this second meeting.

In total I conducted 20 interviews, generating over 600 typed pages of data. The shortest interview lasted slightly more than a half an hour and the longest, two and a half hours.

The Questionnaire

It was in response to a number of issues that emerged from my observations and interviews and which I had not anticipated before I began the study that I formulated a brief questionnaire. Towards the end of May 2005 I realized that I would only be able to talk directly with a small sample of the student population. At the same time I recognized that there were phenomena (e.g., student practice habits) that were important to my study and beyond my ability to observe directly. So during the first week of June 2005 and with the approval of both the principals and teachers in each school, I administered a questionnaire (Appendix I) to all Instrumental Music 10-20-30 students in each school.

There were six questions on the questionnaire. Each is described in turn along with my rationale for its inclusion.

The first question was: How often have you practiced, apart from your regular participation in the band class, in the past month? This question was included because several of the teachers suggested that many, if not most, of the students did not practice on a regular basis. The lack of regular practice affects the performance of both the individual and the group. Moreover the frequency of practice can be taken as an indicator of student motivation and interest.

The second question was: Do you own your own instrument? This question was included to deal with the relationship between practice and ownership. Was there any evidence that students who owned their own instrument were more likely to practice outside of the band class? If so, their economic capital (i.e., ownership of an instrument) could affect the frequency of their practice.

The third question was: Do you play more than one instrument? During my fieldwork I observed that many of the students were capable of playing more than one instrument. Moreover at least two of the teachers used the abilities of their students as multi-instrumentalists to either compensate for instrumental deficiencies in their bands or enhance student learning. This is one of the strategies a teacher can use in a resource-deficient situation. I wanted to gather evidence of this phenomenon in a more structured way; hence the question.

The fourth question was: Do you, or have you, received private instruction on any musical instrument? Given that I suspected at least some of the students played more than one instrument, I was interested in what kinds of extracurricular music instruction the students had either experienced or sought out. Again this could be taken as evidence of either the economic capital to afford private lessons or the interest in so doing.

The fifth question was: Have you in the past month bought a compact disc (CD) or downloaded music from the Internet? I was interested in the issue of the relationship between the students' extracurricular listening habits and their participation in instrumental music at school. A common criticism of Instrumental Music as a course is that it is culturally irrelevant; that the kinds of music that the students play in band classes and the kinds of music that they listen to and seek out outside of such classes, are

profoundly different. One of the implications of Elliott's praxiological model of music education (1995) described in the previous chapter, is that the activity of making music, which he called musicing, is fundamentally different from the activity of listening to music. Because these two activities are different, it is possible that students who identify themselves with particular genres may nonetheless be willing to perform music of others, providing they deem the activity of playing music to be worthwhile in and of itself. This idea occurred after a discussion with one of the student informants who identified himself as a punk and indeed dressed the part, yet admitted he liked to play the music of Lionel Ritchie.

The sixth and final question was: What ensembles do you play in? This question was directed solely at the students in Davisville, where there was more than one ensemble in which to participate.

Validity

The Question of Observer Bias

The accuracy of ethnographic data is often questioned. Henninger (2002) confirmed in his study of student observations of teachers that students who were aware of instructional goals observed teachers differently than those that did not. My background as a musician and music educator could be seen as either a benefit or an impediment to the study. Given the issues of positionality, reflexivity, objectivity, and representation that are identified by Noblit, Flores, and Murilo (2004) as being of central concern to post-critical ethnography, I have included a brief autobiography so that my biases are apparent.

Autobiography

I began my teaching career in 1981 in a small community on the west coast of Vancouver Island north of Victoria. I taught band at a small junior and senior secondary school and its three elementary feeder-schools for three years on a temporary contract. At the end of the third year, my contract was not renewed. The teacher whom I had replaced had transferred to another school in the same district to start a new band program. That program was not successful and it was discontinued. Because he had a permanent contract, and I did not, he was transferred back to the schools at which I taught and I was let go. I was unemployed for a year.

At the end of that year I secured a teaching position in a small school district in central Alberta. In this position I taught elementary music and band in two communities that were about 30 kilometers apart. When I arrived in the larger of the two schools I discovered that band was offered to Grade 5 students once a week and that each instrument was shared by up to three students. This was an intolerable situation and, through the intervention of the school's administration, these problems were addressed.

Though school board policy had required a $20.00 fee per year for Instrumental Music, that fee had not been collected on a regular basis before my arrival. Administrators at the school board recognized that such a fee was not sufficient to adequately fund the program. So they decided to raise the fee to $100.00 per year, ignoring my protestations that such a change would have a disastrous impact on enrollment in the program; they convinced the school board to adopt their recommendations. The impact that this decision had on enrollment was worse than I had anticipated; no students were permitted to enroll in band by their parents in the following

year. The program was discontinued after I had been in the position for three years; a year later I resigned.

I was fortunate to next find employment in the school division where I am currently employed. I was hired to teach band and music in a small elementary and junior high school located in the westernmost region of the district. I had begun to come to terms with some of the difficulties that I had encountered in teaching that I had previously failed to recognize. I was fortunate for the next several years; my administrators allowed me sufficient instructional time to successfully establish and maintain a viable junior high school band program. The program was successful in maintaining a high standard of performance that was recognized by the parents, the students, and the adjudicators for whom we performed at music festivals throughout the province.

I had begun graduate work in music education immediately after my first year of teaching. I realized that my grasp of music education, after having spent only a year in a post-professional educational diploma program at the University of British Columbia, was limited and I knew I needed to better understand this discipline if I wanted to be a successful educational practitioner. I received a Master's degree in Education from the University of Victoria in the spring of 1988 and I began the graduate program in the Kodály concept of music education at the University of Williamsville that summer.

I left my position during the 1994/95 school year to complete a Master's degree in Music at the University of Williamsville, intending to return to the school in which I was employed in the fall of 1995. I knew that my replacement would have a difficult time following me because most band programs experience a period of instability when the

program undergoes a change of instructor. Nonetheless, I had left the program with approximately 50 students enrolled in band and I returned to find it decimated. There were only two students enrolled in band at the end of my year in Williamsville. Ten students enrolled in band when I returned in the fall of 1995. I managed to triple the number of students enrolled in the band program in the fall of 1996. Because I was a music and band specialist and because there was an ongoing restructuring of the schools within the district, I was transferred to a Grade 5 to 12 school in the easternmost region of the school district in the fall of 1997.

In my new position I was expected to teach Social Studies and Health as well as Band and Music. During the summer between my first and second years in my new position, an out-going administrator eliminated the senior secondary school band program from the school's timetable without consulting parents, students, or me. A new administrator who entered the ranks of administration from her teaching position within the school rewrote the program into the school's timetable; the number of students who were enrolled in Instrumental Music eventually quadrupled.

Methods of Ensuring Validity

Ensuring the validity of this study was guided by Carspecken's (1996) critical ethnographic method. This method uses a five-stage design: (a) compilation of the primary record, (b) preliminary reconstructive analysis, (c) dialogical data generation, (d) the discovery of systems relations, and (e) the utilization of system relations as explanations of findings. The way in which each stage relates to this study is described in turn.

The first stage, the compilation of the primary record, requires passive observation, the maintenance of a field journal, and the creation of what Carspecken called a thick record, during selected periods of intensive observation. The objective validity claims made during this stage are to be supported through the use of the following: flexible observation schedules, prolonged engagement in the field, low-inference vocabulary, member checks, peer debriefing, multiple recording devices, and multiple observers. I used all but the last two methods. Peer debriefing was not practical due to the absence of other researchers doing similar work in the area. The use of multiple recording devices was prohibited; one of the participants objected to the possible use of a tape recorder. Though I did not employ multiple observers in my study, the subjects themselves acted as both participants and observers. A subject can verify or corroborate the researcher's observations during a member check, only if one assumes that the subject independently observed the incidents that are described or reported by the researcher.

During the second stage, preliminary reconstructive analysis, the researcher constructs initial meaning reconstructions and performs horizontal and vertical validity reconstructions. Horizontal and vertical validity reconstructions are conceptualized within Carspecken's Pragmatic Horizon model. This model includes claims to intelligibility, legitimacy, identity, subjectivity, and objectivity along the horizontal dimension of the model; and the use of pragmatic, semantic, and linguistic unit structures, implicit references, and layered validity claims along the vertical dimension of the model. The hermeneutic inferences made during this stage are validated through member checks on the reconstructions, peer debriefings, strip analysis, and negative case analysis. Strip

analysis is performed by comparing strips of the primary record with reconstructed cultural themes to check for consistency. In this study I used member checks and strip analysis.

Though the processes by which I arrived at hermeneutic inferences may not have been entirely consistent with Carspecken's method, in that implicit references were not specifically identified through the formal process he described, these implicit references are entirely conjectural and thus suspect regardless of whether they are arrived at through either a formal or an informal process. An interviewer can reasonably assume that he is aware of the meanings that he intends during an interview; if, upon reflection, he suspects that alternative meanings may have been intended by the interviewee, those alternative meanings can be investigated and discussed during the member check. Carspecken's method is a formalized method for arriving at inferences that, notwithstanding its rigor, cannot guarantee the validity of those inferences.

Carspecken requires peer review to validate the findings at various stages throughout the ethnographic process. I utilized peers differently from the manner he envisioned. Whereas Carspecken suggests that peers should include other researchers engaged in similar research and thus familiar with his method, I chose to recognize my subjects as peers. I had administrators read and comment upon significant passages of the transcribed interviews with other administrators, to confirm and thus validate my understanding of those interviews. The subjects of my study performed both member checks and peer review; the peer review process validates the hermeneutic inferences that I arrive at informally.

Carspecken's third stage requires dialogical data generation through interviews, group discussions, and, in some circumstances, the technique of Interpersonal Process Recall which I did not use because it was not practical to do so.

The fourth stage is the discovery of system relations. Carspecken (1966) states that this stage "involves the comparative analysis of cultural reconstructions performed on more than one cultural site. The purpose of stage four is to discover and describe system relations between social sites that are brought about primarily through cultural forms." (p. 201) Validity requirements for this stage are established in four ways: through prior fidelity to the validity requirements of the first three stages, through demonstration of a match between the researcher's comparative analysis and the researcher's subjects' commentaries, through demonstration of a match between the researcher's reconstructions and those produced and published by other researchers, and through the use of peer debriefers and member checks. All these methods were used in my study. Moreover, Carspecken requires for this stage comparisons between data collected between at least two different sites, a condition met by my study.

The fifth stage, the utilization of system relations as explanations of findings, requires the examination of the findings in the light of existing macro level social theories. Anthony Giddens' work (1986) is cited by Carspecken as an exemplary model of a social theory; Pierre Bourdieu's work is not. Notwithstanding this omission, I contend that Bourdieu's social theory is sufficiently robust to provide the theoretical framework for analysis that Carspecken requires.

Although observations and comments with respect to dialogical data obtained from members of other groups (e.g., administrators commenting on the observations of

teachers, or students commenting on the observations of principals) would provide useful data, I believe that this exchange of data between members should only occur between members from different schools and not within them. It was not my intent to act as an intermediary between a music teacher and his or her principal, or between a music teacher and his or her students within a school. My interpretation of my professional ethical requirements prevented me from allowing the subjects within the schools from having access to the specific data that I collected within that school.

As a final check on the validity of my findings and the accuracy of my representation, I circulated a preliminary draft of this dissertation to the participants at the beginning of June 2006. They were asked to read and comment upon any part of this that was of interest. One principal and two teachers responded to my invitation; of these, only one teacher expressed reservations about one aspect of my representation of him as a teacher which I then revised.

A Note on the Final Member Checks

The final member checks were undertaken after I had completed a preliminary draft of this study. Before I began to write the final chapter I gave the eight adult subjects of this study the opportunity to read and respond to what I had written. I distributed a preliminary draft of those chapters to six of the eight adult subjects at the beginning of June 2006, asking them to read and comment upon any of the material they wished to by the end of the month. I was particularly interested that they read my description of themselves.

The two subjects who did not receive a copy of the preliminary draft at the beginning of June presented special problems. One of the principals had experienced two severe strokes in the summer of 2005 shortly after I had completed my field work. Given the state of his health, it would have been clearly inappropriate on my part to ask him to comment on the work. I did conduct two interviews with this subject and he indicated at the beginning of the second that my transcription and observations of the first were accurate. I did ask his replacement to contact his wife on my behalf to see if she would be willing to read those portions of my dissertation that pertained to her husband. I believed that it would have been easier for the wife to refuse my request to the acting principal than to refuse me directly. The principal's wife did not contact me regarding my request.

One of the subjects who did read the entire first draft taught at the school where this individual was principal. She clearly knew of his medical condition and was familiar to some extent with his history; they often drove to and from the school together from the community in which they both lived. Though she did not comment directly on my portrayal of the principal she did suggest that my depiction of herself and of her students was fair and accurate. I can only assume that if she believed that my representation of the principal had been unfair, she would have let me know.

I attempted to deliver a copy of my preliminary draft to the second person in question, repeatedly over a five week period. On July 10, 2006, we agreed that I should be allowed to present my findings with respect to his practice without his having first read my description of that practice.

Four of the six subjects who received the first draft have taken the opportunity to respond to my invitations to read and comment upon the paper. I assume tacit approval

on the part of the subjects who did not elect to comment on the first draft. Two of the principals (known in this study as Mr. Charles and Mr. Roberts) responded to my invitation by e-mail. Mr. Charles wrote, "I did quickly go through the document that you sent. I have no concerns." Mr. Roberts also expressed his approval simply stating, "I read it. It looks great."

One of the teachers (known here as Mrs. Daniels) also responded by e-mail: "I have only just today finished reading your first draft. It was really interesting to see how another music teacher 'judged' (not in a derogatory way) my practices. Nothing you wrote about me or the students was inaccurate." A third subject, (known here as Mr. Smith) phoned me within 20 minutes of receiving an e-mail I sent reminding him that I intended to proceed with the writing of this final chapter within days. He was concerned that my portrayal of him suggested that his classroom management skills were less than adequate. I assured him that this was not my intent and that I would address it. I have done so in Chapter Four.

Chapter Three: Context

Introduction

In this chapter I describe the sites in which my study was conducted in terms of their fields, and the habitus and capitals of the major, relevant players. There are several, nested fields of practice: the community (taken here to mean a geographically bounded area that was governed by a municipal legislative body, such as a town, city or village), the school, and the music classroom. The overarching relevant field is the Instrumental Music 10-20-30 curriculum, as discussed in the first chapter. The purpose of this curriculum is to standardize the outcomes of high school instrumental music teacher practice regardless of the community in which that practice occurs, and is therefore taken to be invariant across communities here.

The results presented in this chapter are taken from two main sources: (a) the interviews I conducted, and (b) the student questionnaire. These are supplemented by my own impressions and some secondary data on the socioeconomic character of each community.

For convenience, I present the data first in terms of a series of nested fields: (a) the geographic community; (b) the school, including its music students and principal; and (c) the music program in terms of its classroom, its timetable, its teachers and its students. I begin with the geographic communities in which the schools and thus the music programs are located. Pseudonyms are used throughout, in compliance with the University of Alberta's policy on the protection of research participants' anonymity.

The Nested Fields of Stevensville

The Community

Stevensville presents the grim face of a community in decline in rural Alberta. It has a gas station, a restaurant, and several churches. The streets are badly in need of repair in places and many homes are either abandoned or empty. Those homes that are well maintained are anomalies.

Stevensville is a village of approximately 400 and has declined by 6.4% between 1996 and 2001, compared to the Alberta average growth of 10.3%. The median age of its inhabitants is 32.8 years compared to the Alberta median of 35 years in 2001. It consists largely of white, English-speaking persons. While the average earnings of all Albertans in 2001 were $32,603, the average earnings of the inhabitants of Stevensville were approximately $22,000. The average earnings of individuals who were employed full time for a full year in Alberta in 2001 were $44,130; the average earnings of those wage earners living in Stevensville were $29,000 (Statistics Canada, 2001).

When asked to describe the community of Stevensville, Mr. Morrison, the principal of Stevensville School, offered the following comments:

> The community at large in Stevensville is a combination of what I call a traditional, rural farming community, with the values that go with that; rather conservative values. And then, mixed into that is this acreage population which is an interesting accumulation of people of every type, really. By "type" I mean, socio-economic class. . . .anyway the acreage population is quite a collection of individuals from people who are highly educated to those with very, very little education . . . and everything in between. Some who are very strong family people, others who are groups of people who have left the city to escape family situations . . . . to group homes who have established themselves in order to have lots of foster children in order to not have to work . . . . within the village of Stevensville . . . . I would say the majority of the population is on the lower end of the socio-economic scale; highly mobile. They come for a little while and then they're gone. Part of it the reason for the low socio-economic scale is, I believe, the low cost of living here. The trailer court doesn't cost very much to rent a

> trailer or to pull one in there and live there. There are some cheap rental properties in the community. So that range of socio-economic status is reflected in the school as well; from those kids who are coming from those upper-end families to those who are struggling in the lower-end families. And it's no surprise that some of the big discipline issues tend to be from the families who have very few parenting skills . . . with blended families and re-blended and reconstituted [families]. So our families, where the kids are just running amok . . . we have lots of struggles in that way.
>
> Another part of the community though differs completely . . . . [There is a] strong religious influence. The Zion Church here is a very strong influence in the community. . . .[There is a] Lutheran Church . . . . there are Catholics in the community, that have to go to [elsewhere to church] . . . because the Stevensville area doesn't have its own Catholic church. So that plays a significant role such that we can have religious groups in the school during the day without much difficulty. . . . Stevensville was founded by a group of religious folk.

Mr. Morrison describes a community that is highly heterogeneous economically and educationally but appears to have some commonality in terms of religious values. He recognizes that the correlation between educational attainment and status that is conventionally held to manifest itself economically may no longer hold.

Mr. Morrison's description of the community is corroborated by Mrs. Daniels, Stevensville School's band teacher:

> The community . . . is really not very sophisticated. We play at the Winspear; first year I taught here in 2000 the [school] board rented the Winspear, and all of the band teachers performed . . . . And so if that wasn't trial by fire I don't know what was. But very few of the parents from this school even attended 'cause they'd never been to the Winspear. Didn't know what [it is] . . . . But [the] fashion show we sell out every year.
>
> The kids will go to the symphony. We've been to the symphony at least once a year. . . . They're not excited about it. We go to musicals. We go to *The Fiddlers*, the cabaret . . . and they love it. They see that that's what musicians can do. 'Cause we were there as much to see the orchestra pit as the group. . . . I've only had one who took his instrument to university and went on with it. It's not an expectation here. Many of the parents are happy with a high school diploma.

Elsewhere in the interview when asked specifically about the socioeconomic status of the community, she described it as "pretty low."

As well as talking with Mr. Morrison and Mrs. Daniels, I raised the issue of community with two students, Nicole and Matt. Nicole is a Grade 11 student with high recognition marks; she hopes to become a teacher. Her father drives a forklift and her mother is a grocery clerk. Matt is a Grade 12 honor student who hopes to study chemistry at university. His father is a building framer and his mother is a homemaker. In short, both students share similar economic capitals.

RESEARCHER: What can you tell me about the community as a whole? I mean what things are distinctive about this community, from your perspective?

NICOLE: I think the older people like parents, the grandparents and stuff . . . I think that they're really nice people; they're fun to be around. But there is [sic] some older kids that graduated a couple of years ago or so that aren't.

RESEARCHER: Aren't as nice? Can we be more specific?

NICOLE: Drugs . . . . Well there's drugs and some people do it. But it's not as bad as it was a couple of years ago.

RESEARCHER: . . . . Now what's the dominant industry here?

MATT: Farming. . . .

NICOLE: I'd probably say farming. I don't know if it's farming or not. . . .

RESEARCHER: The rest of the people then commute into Wattsville, I mean the parents, do they commute to work?

NICOLE: Yeah. Wattsville.

RESEARCHER: Most of the families of the students in your classes, have they lived in this community for a long time do you think?

NICOLE: Yeah. Most of my class has.

MATT: My grade too.

NICOLE: Not too many people live right in Stevensville village . . . maybe a fifth of the kids, not even . . . .

Matt and Nicole's account of the community appears consistent with Mr. Morrison's and Mrs. Daniels'. The community is socially diverse and geographically widely distributed. Their account of the drug culture within the school suggests that the commonly held perception that crystal amphetamine is a problem may be overblown, at least as it applies to Stevensville School.

In contrast to mention of the drug problem, Mrs. Daniels asserted the advantages of having her own children attend school in a small rural community: a sense of community and a lack of anonymity that ensured adherence to social norms. In other words, everyone kept watch over the children and helped to keep them in line.

The School

Overview. Stevensville School enrolls students from Grade 7 to 12. Between 1984 and 2002, the 18-year period for which enrollment figures are available, the school enrolled on average, 261 students, 116 of whom were enrolled in Grades 10 through 12. The number of students enrolled in Grades 10 through 12 increased from 107 to 127 peaking in 1993-94 school year, at 141 students (Alberta Learning, 2003). Its student population at the time of this study was 115.

Most of the students who attend the Stevensville School do not reside in the village. They live on acreages or farms in outlying areas and are bussed to school on a route that bypasses the community itself. The school is on the periphery of the village and can be accessed directly from local highways. The sense of community that these students share is based on attending the same school.

The principal. Mr. Morrison, the principal of Stevensville School, was born in Toronto and raised in Nova Scotia. His father was a prominent theological scholar who was born and raised in Czechoslovakia. His mother, a substitute teacher, was born and raised in Saskatchewan. An accomplished violinist, pianist, and organist, Mr. Morrison resisted pressures to study music as an undergraduate student. He completed an Honors Bachelor of Arts degree in English with a double minor in French and German at Acadia University, before completing a Bachelor of Education degree with a focus on elementary special education in 1982, also at Acadia. He also holds a Masters degree in English Literature from the University of Alberta.

Mr. Morrison started his teaching career in a small community in south central Alberta in the fall of 1982. He left that position in 1988 to pursue a graduate degree in English literature. He resumed his teaching career in 1989, transferring to Stevensville School as vice-principal in 1997. He has held the position of principal of Stevensville School for the past three years. Mr. Morrison is married with children; he lives in a small community about 15 minutes outside of Stevensville.

The Instrumental Music Program

Overview. There were 17 students in the program and most played clarinet or saxophone. The complete list of all players is shown in Table 1.

Table 1

Instruments Used at Study Sites

	Number of Players			
Instruments	Davisville	Louisville	Stevensville	Thomasville
Prescribed				
Piccolo	1	0	0	0
Flute	12	1	1	4
Oboe	0	0	0	0
English horn	0	0	0	0
Clarinet				
B flat soprano	14	0	4	5
Alto	0	0	0	0
Bassoon	0	0	0	0
Saxophones				
Alto	6	0	4	2
Tenor	6	0	1	2
Baritone	2	0	1	1
Trumpet	10	1	3	3
French horn	3	0	0	0
Trombone	8	0	0	0
Bass Trombone	2	0	1	0
Euphonium	3	0	0	0
Tuba	4	0	0	0
Percussion	4	1	1	2
Non-prescribed				
Contrabass Clarinet	1	0	0	0
Bass guitar	0	1	1	1
Piano	0	1	0	0
Total Players	76	5	17	20

All of the Instrumental Music students from Stevensville School responded to the questionnaire. In terms of practice outside of class, five of the respondents (29%)

indicated that they had not practiced in the month prior to completing the questionnaire, two (12%) indicated that they had practiced once, three (17%) indicated that they had practiced twice, four (24%) indicated that they had practiced three times, and the remaining three (17%) indicated that they had practiced more than three times. Six of the 17 students (35%) indicated that they owned their own instrument; the balance did not. Eleven of the respondents (65%) indicated that they played more than one instrument, and 8 of the 17 students (47%) indicated that they had received private instruction on a musical instrument. Finally, six of the respondents (35%) indicated that they had either downloaded music from the Internet or purchased music on a compact disc in the month prior to the administration of the questionnaire.

The music room in Stevensville School is used for both music instruction and other classes. The room is divided into halves: the western half of the classroom is a level open space with room for about 30 large student desks; the eastern half of the classroom is stepped. Each step is about a meter and a half in width and stands about 60 centimeters above the step in front of it. The effect created is that of a steeply raked theatre-style classroom with a large floor area.

The ceiling is a vaulted, cathedral-style design. Twenty-four large fluorescent lights shielded behind Plexiglas screens are mounted in rows of four across the ceiling. The walls are off-white, the carpet green. Several images of musicians and dancers, reminiscent of the iconic images painted by Matisse in his later life, are painted in aquamarine and turquoise on the south wall of the classroom. A flattened baritone saxophone mounted on black velvet is attached to the north wall of the classroom above the base of the steps.

A bank of cupboards painted in the same shades of aquamarine and turquoise as the paintings on the south wall sits against the west portion of the north wall near the doorway to the classroom. These cupboards are used for storage of instruments and music. Additional storage space is available in a small room built into the northeast corner of the room and a larger room that extends beyond the southwest corner. The latter space is used to store unused chairs and stands and some of the larger unused instruments.

Blackboards have been placed on the west wall of the classroom (the front of the classroom) and against the western half of the south wall. The teacher's desk sits to one side of the front of the classroom.

While conducting the band, the teacher stands on a large carpeted platform placed at the base of the first step. The grade of the steps is such that the last level of steps is above the teacher's line of sight. The teacher must look up to the percussionists who play on this last step. This room is a well-appointed and practical multi-use space in which the teacher teaches Music, Social Studies, and English. I did not observe her teaching any subjects other than music in this room.

Stevensville School's timetable ran on a six-day schedule. Instrumental Music was offered every other day.

The music teacher. Mrs. Daniels, the band teacher at Stevensville School, was born in a small community north of Wattsville in 1960. Though her father was a machine operator and her mother a teacher, Mrs. Daniels' family has a long history as farmers. Notwithstanding the familial occupational tradition, Mrs. Daniels was groomed to teach from an early age by her mother. She entered the University of Alberta's Faculty of

Education in 1978 and graduated with distinction as an elementary reading specialist in 1982.

Mrs. Daniels started her teaching career teaching elementary music in the community in which she was raised. She is an elementary reading specialist who had received no formal instruction at the university level in either music or music education. She simply fell into her role as a music teacher when, in her first teaching position, she had been asked to teach music because she played piano.

Three years later she was offered a position teaching junior and senior high school music during a period of restructuring in the school district in which she taught. She voluntarily withdrew from teaching in 1992 to raise her children and to work alongside her husband both in the family's business and on the family farm. Mr. and Mrs. Daniels sold the family business and she resumed her teaching career in 2000 following her husband's diagnosis with a life-threatening illness. Her husband, now in good health, continues to farm. In her present position Mrs. Daniels teaches Band, English, and Social Studies in addition to her duties as a counselor.

Summary of the Stevensville Site

Stevensville is a marginal community. Its small size, lack of amenities, and proximity to Wattsville suggest that those community members who have the economic means and are interested in participating in significant socio-cultural activity turn away from Stevensville and towards any of the larger communities that surround Wattsville as sites for these activities. Though the community itself appears relatively impoverished, Stevensville School draws its student population from a wide geographic area;

generalization about the economic and social capital of these students on the basis of Stevensville's economic status is problematic. Despite the economic status of the community in which it is situated, Stevensville School appears to provide a supportive environment for students to attend school, though communal expectations for post-secondary schooling are relatively low.

The Nested Fields of Thomasville

The Community

Like Stevensville, the village of Thomasville is in decline. It has a gas station, a restaurant and several churches. The streets are, in places, badly in need of repair and many homes within the villages are either abandoned or empty. Those homes that are well maintained are anomalies.

Thomasville has approximately 400 inhabitants. Between 1996 and 2001 its population declined by 4.9%, compared to a 10.3% average growth in the province as a whole. The median age of its inhabitants was 55.6 years in 2001, compared to 35 years for the province as a whole. Thomasville differs appreciably from the other communities studied in that almost 18% of the community members report that their first language is neither English nor French. Many of the residents have a Ukrainian background. The average earnings of the inhabitants were approximately $20,000, compared to a provincial average of $32,603. The average earnings of individuals who were employed full time for a full year in Alberta in 2001 were $44,130, compared to $29,000 for wage earners living in Stevensville (Statistics Canada, 2001).

The economic tone of the village is best described through the student interviews with Anne and Jake. Jake moved to Thomasville to live with his grandparents because his father, who suffered from multiple sclerosis, could not provide appropriate parental care; Jake has never met his mother. Anne lives with her adoptive parents; her father is a forklift driver who has no post-secondary education and her mother is a homemaker who has studied psychology at the post-secondary level.

> ANNE: I think that if you don't farm here you don't really have a lot of career opportunities. Like my dad worked for the village when we moved here, but it wasn't like the greatest job. So he worked out of town.
>
> JAKE: A lot of it's with one income, and not from the rigs and stuff. And if you're not a farmer or even if you are, everyone says, a lot of kids seem to say "Since we're out of school, up to the rigs," ... and driving trucks.

Jake described the community as redneck and "the Ukrainian capital of the world." More can be learned about this community from the interview with Mr. Charles, the school principal.

> RESEARCHER: What can you tell me about the community?
>
> MR. CHARLES: Traditionally agriculture based; certainly declining in numbers according to the demographics that I've seen about this school here. And continues to do so; very traditional.
>
> RESEARCHER: And traditional in what sense?
>
> MR. CHARLES: The sense I get from some of the parents, who were students here, [are] this is how we did it, this is how it was done before, and this is how we expect it to be done. . . . Certainly I've called it the Wild West on more than one occasion.
>
> RESEARCHER: Meaning?
>
> MR. CHARLES: We take care of our own problems; we handle our own things our own way. And this is the way we've done it, and this is the way it works.

Mr. Parker, the music teacher, observed that perhaps as a function of geographic isolation, community members had developed a solidarity and independence, and that they resented what they viewed as meddling by outsiders. He recounted the difference between how he was treated when he first arrived compared to after he married a local woman.

> MR. PARKER: . . . they look at you totally different when you're married and you're raising your family. It's a strange, and I'm not saying that it's right or wrong . . . . If you're a bachelor out here, which is what I was, they will watch you like a hawk . . . . It's that rural sort of, small town curiosity.
>
> RESEARCHER: But is there then a recognition of difference on their part? That you're somehow different because you're from the outside and coming in?
>
> MR. PARKER: Oh I think so.
>
> RESEARCHER: It's a like a threat to the integrity of the community then? . . .
>
> MR. PARKER: Well here it is. And . . . [another] teacher here put it well. He said "You know if the community accepts you, and they believe that you're a good person, doing a good job, you could probably get away with murder. . . . And if they don't accept you, and they don't like you, they will eat you alive."

Mr. Parker's account of the community is congruent with Mr. Charles' in at least one important way. Both suggest an important awareness of otherness among the community members as a whole. Inasmuch as community is both an inclusive and exclusionary concept, the strength of this awareness suggests a well-developed sense of community.

The focus of the conversation with Mr. Charles switched to communal stability, expectations, and external influences.

> RESEARCHER: What do the kids do when they're done? I mean will they leave here?
> MR. CHARLES: Some kids will. . . . They go on to post-secondary. Some will . . . . will stay here, marry here, raise a family here . . . and we'll have another generation of them here. Certainly due to economic decline in the area some of them are certainly leaving. . . .

RESEARCHER: Right. So . . . what you see is for economic reasons people come here, and for economic reasons they leave.

MR. CHARLES: . . . . Oh yes. Because we do have some that come here . . . because . . . certainly it's cheaper to live here. . . . And we do get some what I would call transient population looking for cheaper alternatives, as well as to get away from some of the inner city things that go on.

RESEARCHER: Do you find that some of those inner city things that go on . . . show up here?

MR. CHARLES: . . . . We see what I call inner city behavior in the community.

RESEARCHER: Like drugs?

MR. CHARLES: We have drug problems here. . . . I do believe we have a crystal meth situation as well.

Mr. Charles also said that the community might experience some economic revitalization because of its geographic relationship to Starkyville, the heart of Alberta's oil extraction industry. The village lies within a corridor between Starkyville and Wattsville that has experienced a noticeable increase in the value of real estate that was clearly connected with northern Alberta's economic growth.

Perhaps not surprisingly, both of the students I interviewed in Thomasville expressed concerns about their own economic futures. Anne is a Grade 12 student who aspires to be a music teacher. Jake is in Grade 11 and intends to study sciences at university for purely economic reasons, though he would like to be a tattoo artist. For both of these students the economic insecurity of their respective situations dominated their thinking about their futures. The issue of illegal drugs was also raised.

Like Stevensville, there is little in the way of amenities that would appeal to teenagers in this village as shown in the student interviews with Anne and Jake.

ANNE: Not very exciting place. It's a small town. I don't think it's a good place to have a family. . . . Yeah, like retired elderly people, I think, but it's a real good

place to have a kid from ages born to maybe five or six. But . . . the community has nothing to offer a 17-year old kid.

JAKE: Especially work.

ANNE: And you can get into a lot of trouble out here.

RESEARCHER: Very, very quickly?

ANNE: Oh, yes. There's drugs and alcohol and it's not hard to get your hands on out here. . . .

JAKE: Pretty much out here it boils down to everyone drinks, every second person smokes weed, every fifth person deals hard drugs.

RESEARCHER: And when you say hard drugs?

JAKE: You know like [crystal] meth. . . . I guess that there's not too much of that anyway, is there?

ANNE: No. . . .

The pressures on teens were more fully described:

ANNE: If you're different, and you come to this school . . . . It's not the place for you to be.

RESEARCHER: So you see yourself as being different from the other students in the school?

JAKE: Pretty much. Like there's not too many kids even remotely like me, 'cause I grew up in the city, I grew up around skateboarders and stuff. . . .

RESEARCHER: So do you see yourself then as having a certain set of cultural values that's different from the people here?

JAKE: Well one cultural similarity where everyone gets along is partying. I get along great, you know. I don't have any problems. But I do feel isolated. . . . I do my best. I hang out with other people who aren't like me and people learn to accept it. And if they don't, I really don't care.

RESEARCHER: Right. And so you do see a distinctiveness between your cultural values and the cultural values of the people who've lived in this community for all their lives, is that right?

> JAKE: Yeah. And the longer you live here the more your cultural values start to [adapt] . . . .
>
> ANNE: I think it's possible though not to have to adapt. . . . Like I go out partying and stuff with the people here, but it's not like I'm doing it every weekend. I go to band camp once a month; I have rehearsals every Saturday. . . .The more you party the more friends you have out here. The more you drink the cooler you are.

In other words, from the teens' point of view, the drinking, party culture is part of their lives. Neither student thought of Thomasville as a good community in which to be raised.

The School

Overview. Thomasville School enrolls students in Grades 5 through 12. Prior to the 1985-86 school year Grade 5 and 6 students were not enrolled in this school. In the 18-year period for which data are available, the school enrolled on average, 327 students, 158 of whom were enrolled in Grades 10 through 12. The senior high school population decreased from 208 in 1984, to 149 in 2002 (Alberta Learning, 2003). There were 120 high school students enrolled at this school at the time of this study.

Like the students from Stevensville School, most students from Thomasville School live on acreages and farms in outlying areas and are bussed to school without having to pass through the village, since the school is on its periphery. The sense of community that these students share is just that sense of community that arises from attending the same school.

The principal. Mr. Charles, the principal of Thomasville School, was born in Wattsville in 1970 and raised in a small community east of the city. Both of his parents

worked in the financial sector early in their respective careers; later they ran several small businesses and farmed near the Alberta-Saskatchewan border.

Mr. Charles began an undergraduate degree in economics before quickly realizing that he could not sustain enough interest in the discipline to complete the program. He switched to the Faculty of Education in his second year at university and received a Bachelor of Education in 1991. He is currently completing a Masters of Business Administration degree in Education.

After spending the 1991-92 school year working as a substitute teacher in Wattsville, he accepted a teaching position in a Mennonite community in northern Alberta. He relocated to a small town north of Thomasville in 1999 and transferred to Thomasville School in 2003. Mr. Charles was identified as an effective disciplinarian early in his teaching career and encouraged to move into administration.

The Instrumental Music Program

Overview. There were 20 students in the program. Most played woodwind instruments (flute, clarinet, or saxophone), as shown in Table 1. Seventeen of the 20 students responded to the questionnaire on extracurricular participation in music. The number of students who practiced their instruments outside of class time is quite high. Eleven of the 17 respondents (65%) indicated that they had practiced more than three times in the month prior to the administration of the questionnaire, three respondents (18%) indicated that they had practiced three times in the same period, one respondent (6%) indicated that she had practiced once, and only two respondents (12%) indicated that they had not practiced outside the class at all. Ten students (59%) indicated that they

owned their own instrument and 16 students (94%) indicated that they played more than one instrument. Ten students (59%) indicated that they had received private instruction on a musical instrument. Eleven students (65%) indicated that they had either purchased a compact disc or downloaded music from the Internet in the month prior to the administration of the questionnaire.

Like the music room in Stevensville School, this music room is in the theatre-style in which the rehearsal area is divided into five meter-and-a-half wide steps. Each step stands about 15 centimeters above the step in front of it; the effect is of a gradual slope. The teaching area at the base of the steps is relatively small and covers not much more than 30 square meters.

A small stage that stands about a meter high occupies the front portion of the classroom. This stage is used for storage. The music room itself is situated behind the school's main stage and was once continuous with it. A partition separating the music room stage from the main school stage has recently been built. The partition, painted white, was built a decade after the music teacher first requested it. A double door, painted black, is located at the north end of the stage. A single door, also painted black, is located at the south end of the stage.

The upper half of the music room walls is covered in a drab olive-colored material that may have some acoustic-dampening properties; the lower half is covered in an off-white almost pink vinyl material.

Students enter the room through a door in the southwest corner. Because of the theatre-style construction, the door stands about a meter above the floor of the hallway

adjacent to it and is accessed via a set of steps. A ramp runs from the doorway along the inside south wall of the classroom to the teaching area at the front of the classroom.

Instruments are stored in two open wooden cupboards placed against the inside west wall of the classroom. There are also two built-in cupboards between these two freestanding cupboards.

The room has a disheveled appearance yet comfortable ambience. Its age and general condition are consistent with that of the school overall. About 30 chairs, some blue, some brown, and some orange, sit on the stepped rehearsal area. Another 20 or so unused chairs are stacked against the west portion of the north wall of the classroom. There are music stands everywhere. An old piano surrounded by wooden book cases used to store music sits at the base of the steps in the northeast corner of the classroom. Across the front of the classroom, pressed against the stage, are four filing cabinets: three metal ones in grey, green, and black and an older one in wood. A small portable whiteboard is the only writing surface that the teacher has available. The teacher's desk sits in front of the stage in the southeast corner of the room.

The timetable at Thomasville School operated on a five-day schedule. Instrumental Music ran on Days 2 and 4 between 8:55 a.m. and 10:21 a.m. and on Day 5 between 9:40 a.m. and 10:21 a.m.

The music teacher. Mr. Parker, the band teacher at Thomasville School, was born in 1971 in a community that shares its municipal borders with Wattsville. His father was a professor in the Faculty of Education at the University of Alberta. His mother works in a geriatric facility in the community in which he was born. His sister, who lives and works in Toronto, has a Doctorate in Chemistry from the University of Alberta.

Mr. Parker received a Bachelor of Education with a major in music and a minor in math in 1992. As well as his B. Ed., Mr. Parker has completed a Master of Education in Educational Administration at the University of Alberta. He began his teaching career in the fall of 1992 in Thomasville. In his current position Mr. Parker teaches half days. The remainder of the day he works as a representative of the Alberta Teachers' Association. He lives with his wife and children on an acreage outside of Thomasville.

Summary of the Thomasville Site

Thomasville is similar to Stevensville in two respects: size and lack of amenities. It differs in one important respect: proximity to Wattsville. Its relative isolation seems to have engendered a kind of communal identity that is not found in those communities where quick and easy access to Wattsville is available. Given that Thomasville School, like Stevensville School, draws its student body from a relatively wide geographic area generalizations about the economic and social capital of the students are problematic. However, all of the subjects interviewed noted a significant Ukrainian cultural presence.

The Nested Fields of Louisville

The Community

Louisville, girded by industrial park to the north and suburban sprawl to the south, is much larger than Stevensville and Thomasville. Though it has its own quiet residential areas, it also boasts several malls and the many of the usual suburban trappings: Wal-Mart, Wendy's, McDonald's, Boston Pizza, and Safeway. As a result, Louisville could be mistaken for almost any of a number of towns in central Alberta. The newer residential

areas have been stripped of the trees and other landmarks that would have served to conceal generic, uninspiring middle and lower-middle class homes.

Louisville has a population of approximately 15,000 and has grown relatively slowly (4.8% between 1996 and 2001, compared to 10.3% for the province as a whole). The median age of its inhabitants is 36 years, compared to 35 years for all Albertans. The community consists largely of white, English-speaking persons. While the average earnings of all Albertans were $32,603, the average earnings of the inhabitants of Louisville were approximately $33,000. Those who worked full time for a full year in 2001 reported average earnings of approximately $45,000, compared to $44,130 for all Albertans (Statistics Canada, 2001).

When asked to comment on the community Mr. Miller, the principal of Louisville School, offered a rather bleak assessment:

> I think probably this community struggles with . . . being a community, because it's so close to Wattsville [the provincial capital]. And I think that that does have an effect on people [who] largely commute to work in the city. . . . And so, you know in terms of commercial activity in town here . . . in shopping its great, but most people go to Wattsville for their entertainment. Sure [there is] lots of opportunity in town here, but not near as much in Wattsville.

The center of Louisville's economic activity is outside of the geographic limits of Louisville, in Wattsville. This dislocation of economic activity causes problems for the community, a view that is shared by Mr. Stuart, Louisville School's band teacher.

> RESEARCHER: What can you tell me about the community?
>
> MR. STUART: The community is very active. . . . A lot of growth; a lot of building. I don't know if you've noticed the amount of RV places here and in Wattsville, phenomenal . . . . Unfortunately [there are] . . . a lot of homes where both parents work and a lot of kids that are, in my opinion, aren't disciplined enough, or have parental guidance . . . . You know some of these kids are so spoiled and lazy. They won't follow teacher instructions . . . It's a sign-of-the-times, it's a sign of society. . . .

RESEARCHER: Is what you're saying is that you see . . . a higher incidence of those kinds of things in this community as opposed to our past or other communities as you know …

MR. STUART: No, it's bad all over. There's more of the money in Louisville, there's a lot of drugs. Let's face it.

Mr. Stuart sees Louisville as a community in which both economic growth and economic pressures contribute to social instability. Moreover he does not see these problems as being unique to the community but rather endemic to society as a whole.

Though I did interview several students from Louisville school, the interview was cut short and we did not discuss the community at length. However, I did gain some idea of their individual socioeconomic situations. Of the three students interviewed: one of the male students was not willing to discuss his parents; the second, indicated that his father was a safety officer working in northern Alberta, and that he was seldom home; and the third, stated that her father worked in a manufacturing plant and that her mother worked at Wal-Mart.

The School

Overview. There are 12 schools in Louisville: 6 Kindergarten to Grade 6 schools, 1 Kindergarten to Grade 8 school, 2 Kindergarten to Grade 9 schools, 1 Grade 7 to 9 school, 1 Grade 7 to 12 school, and 1 Grade 10 to 12 school. Louisville School is a Catholic school; it enrolls students in Grades 7 through 12, competing for students with five other schools. This school is fairly new, having first enrolled students in the 1987-88 school year. In the 15 years between 1987 and 2002 the school enrolled, on average, 304 students, 116 of whom were enrolled in Grades 10 through 12. In the 15-year period

between 1987 and 2002, the senior high school student population increased from 37 to 159 students (Alberta Learning, 2003). The student population at the time of this study was 160. The principal, Mr. Miller, who described himself as both an avid sportsman and an entrepreneur, had established a sports program as a magnet program to attract students. This program, the plans for which were based on his masters' project, was by all reports working well.

The students I interviewed from Louisville School did not appear to share the same academic aspirations as the other students in this study. One of the male students, who described himself as a poor student, appeared to be resigned to a future that does not include a university education or post-secondary education of any kind. The second male student indicated that, though he was doing well in his subjects other than English, he was academically overwhelmed. The third student, the sole female in the group, indicated that she hoped to attend university. When I asked her what she hoped to study at university she indicated only that she did not want to be a librarian.

The principal. Mr. Miller, the principal of Louisville School, was born in 1962 in a small community in south central Alberta. His father was an Anglican minister and his mother a homemaker. Mr. Miller describes himself as an avid sportsman, playing hockey and rugby through his collegiate career and participating in wrestling along with his younger brother. He attended Red Deer College where he studied engineering, transferring to the University of Alberta where he completed a Bachelor of Science degree before entering the Faculty of Education. He received his Bachelor of Education in 1988. He recently completed his Master of Business Administration in Education; his master's project focused on the establishment of a hockey program within the school. In

short, he was rich in social and cultural capital that were appropriate to his job and which he consciously exploited in what he clearly believed to be the best interest of his students.

Mr. Miller's teaching career started in a small community east of Williamsville where he taught for two years. He then spent a year teaching in a small community near DeJohnetteville that was marked by disagreement with that school's administration. He has been on staff at Louisville School for the past 13 years first as a math and science teacher and then as vice-principal. He entered the ranks of administration after completing the Right of Christian Initiation for Adults. He is married with children; his wife is on staff at Louisville School.

The Instrumental Music Program

Overview. The situation with respect to student enrollment and thus the fate of the Instrumental Music program at Louisville School was precarious: there were only five students. The instruments they played in class are shown in Table 1. The program had experienced a change of teaching personnel within the school year; I stated previously how, under such conditions, programs experience instability. The program was in fact discontinued at the high school level at the end of the 2004-2005 school year after the data collection phase of this study was completed. The teacher sought and found employment elsewhere.

When I asked the students during our interview why they joined the class, the three students present identified the instruments they were interested in learning to play: the guitar, the piano, and the harp. None of these appear in the list of instruments included in the Alberta Learning curriculum guide.

Only four of the five students enrolled in Instrumental Music at Louisville School completed the questionnaire on their extracurricular participation in music. One student indicated that she had not practiced at all in the month prior to her completion of the questionnaire. A single student indicated that she had practiced once, while another indicated that she had practiced twice. The remaining student indicated that she had practiced more than three times. All four students indicated that they owned their own instrument and three of the four students indicated that they played more than one. Three of the four students also indicated that they had received private instruction on a musical instrument. All of the respondents indicated that they had either purchased a compact disc or downloaded music from the Internet in the month prior to the completion of the questionnaire.

The Louisville School music room is large, bright, and open, with two large south-facing windows that overlook the school's playing field. Four open cupboards with adjustable shelves and a single lockable cupboard sit against the north wall of the classroom. The cupboards are used primarily for instrument storage. The east wall of the room is paneled with dark wood strips that extend to the ceiling from behind the heating elements that sit at the base of the wall. The paneling curves around the southeast corner of the room and ends a meter from the first of the windows on the south wall.

The single doorway to the classroom is in the northwest corner of the room. A large white board occupies the northern-most half of the west wall. Beside the white board and extending beyond the west wall of the classroom in the southwest corner are two small offices, one of which is used by the teacher; the other is used as a practice room. A loft that is used primarily for storage occupies the space above these two small

offices. A metal ladder that extends to the loft space is permanently affixed to the cinder block walls adjacent the south wall.

Two drum sets and a bass amplifier sit in the southeast corner of the room. Folding chairs and music stands are generally left haphazardly throughout the room. This is a multi-purpose room that is used by both community groups and the school. The teacher constantly has to re-arrange the chairs and stands both before his classes begin and after they end.

There are minimal decorations in the room. Two posters, both by the same student, are tacked to a wallboard that is mounted on the south wall. A commercially produced poster of a trumpet lying on top of a piano is taped to the wall between the doors to the teacher's office and to the practice room.

Despite its lack of character, the room is clean, well lit, and functional. This is the only classroom that I observed for the purposes of this study that had a level floor throughout the room.

The Louisville School music program operated on a two-day schedule. The senior high Instrumental Music classes ran between 1:45 p.m. and 3:05 p.m. on alternate days.

The music teacher. Mr. Stuart, the band teacher, was born in a small community near Vancouver on Canada's west coast in 1953. His father moved to Vancouver from Alberta in the mid-1940s and worked as a laborer before purchasing a farm near the community in which Mr. Stuart was born. Mr. Stuart's father augmented his farm income by working as a fisherman.

By the time he was 17 years of age, Mr. Stuart and his identical twin brother were working as professional entertainers throughout the lower mainland of British Columbia,

as well as in Alberta and Saskatchewan. They were successful enough as entertainers and accomplished enough as musicians to land a year-long contract at the Las Vegas Hilton.

After a career as an entertainer that lasted some 20 years and also included forays into the hotel business, Mr. Stuart entered the University of Alberta in 1984 to study education. He received a Bachelor of Education with a major in music in 1989.

By way of note: As an entertainer, Mr. Stuart was accustomed to working without the aid of standard musical notation; he learned the material he performed by ear, a practice that is common among performers who work in popular music. The music that is taught in schools and sanctioned by the curriculum almost always uses standard musical notation. His habitual manner of learning music enabled him to function well as a performer and musician, but may have hindered him from fully developing the reading skills that are required of music teachers working in the public school system.

Since completing his education Mr. Stuart taught in some six schools, none for more than a year. He has worked in several jurisdictions as a substitute teacher. Though peripatetic he has had some real success including winning first prize at a province-wide music festival in British Columbia which resulted in being invited to participate in a nation-wide music festival in Toronto. Mr. Stuart lives with his wife and children in Louisville.

Summary of the Louisville Site

Louisville is the largest community and the most problematic site investigated for this study. The human resources available to Mr. Stuart were meager at best; there were only five students enrolled in Instrumental Music and the level of animosity between the

students was problematic. Even though the physical resources, the new school building and well-equipped music room, were ample, Mr. Stuart faced a great challenge.

Two important facts need to be mentioned with respect to this site. First, the cultural bias in the school was towards athletics as exemplified in the personal history of the school principal and the fact that it ran a hockey program to attract students; arts programs were not as highly valued within the school culture. Second, with respect to music, the school successfully ran a Vocal Music program. This contrasted greatly with the situation related to Instrumental Music: Since the school's inception, the high school Instrumental Music was plagued with discontinuity. The difference in success between the two suggests that the segment of the student population that was predisposed to the arts was drawn towards a vocal, rather than an instrumental, program. This may reflect the fact that Louisville School was a Catholic school and that choral music was used in the liturgical services within the school on a weekly basis. The school context appeared to be more supportive of Vocal Music.

The Nested Fields of Davisville

The Community

Davisville is a quiet bedroom community. The streets are wide, tree-lined, and inviting though in need of repair in some places. The overall impression created by the community is one of comfortable affluence, even though not all of the homes are immaculate.

The town's population is approximately 5,000 and has grown by 10.5% between 1996 and 2001, consistent with the province's growth rate of 10.3%. The median age is

33.6 years, close to the median of 35 years throughout Alberta. The inhabitants are largely white, and English-speaking. The average earnings of Davisville inhabitants are approximately $33,000, compared to $32,603 for all Albertans. Those who worked full time for a full year in 2001 reported average earnings of approximately $45,000, compared to $44,130 for all Albertans (Statistics Canada, 2001).

From my perspective the community seemed comfortably middle class. However not everyone agreed. The high school principal described the community as blue-collar, with a strong work ethic. The music teacher described it as redneck. The two students interviewed, Amy and Douglas, who both were born and raised in Davisville, could not speak about the experience of living in this community because they had lived nowhere else. While both of them came from families that had established successful businesses within the community and both were committed to attending university, neither could answer questions about their parents' social capital, despite the fact that in one case, the student's parents had sold the family oilfield business to a multinational corporation.

The School

Overview. Davisville has three elementary schools, a middle school, and one high school. Davisville High School enrolls students in Grades 10, 11, and 12. Prior to the 1990-91 school year, Grade 9 students also attended the school. Between 1984 and 2002, the 18-year period for which enrollment figures are available, an average of 314 students were enrolled each year; 292 if the Grade 9 students who attended the school between 1984 and 1989 are excluded. During this time, the senior high school student population increased from 208 to 329 students, peaking in the 1996-97 school year at 358 (Alberta

Learning, 2003). There were 325 students at the time of this study. While a majority of them live in Davisville, a significant minority live in an adjacent community about five kilometers north of Davisville proper.

The principal. Mr. Roberts, the principal of Davisville School, was born in 1960 in a small community in north central Alberta. His father was a successful businessman and his mother worked as an office assistant. Keenly interested in the sciences, Mr. Roberts completed a Bachelor of Science degree and then a Bachelor of Education in 1984, both at the University of Alberta. He also holds a Master of Business Administration in Education.

Mr. Roberts worked as a teacher and administrator for 18 years in four different schools. After serving as vice-principal at another high school within the same district for two years, he was appointed principal of Davisville School and is serving his first year in that position. He is married with children and currently lives on an acreage located outside of Wattsville approximately 45 minutes by car from Davisville.

Mr. Roberts said that community members have high expectations of the school staff and its students and suggested that the staff compares favorably to any staff with which he has been associated. "When I came [here] . . . my first reaction was I was possibly taking a step down in the caliber of education. And it wasn't the case. These guys are pretty darn good . . . . and they care about the kids."

He then commented on one way in which the strong work ethic in the community affected the school:

> A lot of people made their money by working really hard in the oil patch. And that work ethic is something that they try and instill in their kids. And if the kids aren't working really hard and . . . I have made phone calls to parents . . . [they tend to say] "OK, thank you for sharing this information and we'll . . . support

you in this." And I have really appreciated that, so they expect that work ethic out of their children as well.

The Instrumental Music Program

Overview. There were 76 students enrolled in the music program, about half of whom play flute, clarinet, or trumpet (see Table 1). Sixty-two of these completed the questionnaire I presented to them at the beginning of June, 2005. Forty-six of the respondents (74%) reported that they had not practiced outside of their regular participation in the band class in the month prior to their completion of the questionnaire. Fifty-four of the respondents (87%) indicated that they owned the instrument that they played in the band. Thirty-one of the respondents (50%) indicated that they played more than one instrument. Thirty-nine of the respondents (63%) indicated that they had received private instruction on a musical instrument. Forty-seven of the respondents (76%) indicated that they had either purchased a compact disc or downloaded music from the Internet prior in the previous month.

The Davisville School music program is strongly supported by the community as shown by the size and quality of its music room. The classroom occupies four portable classrooms that have been placed side-to-side and end-to-end in a field immediately south of the main school building. All but two of the inside, adjacent walls have been removed to create one large L-shaped classroom and two smaller classrooms. These smaller classrooms cover a quarter of the total floor space in the northwest corner of the building. The inside wall of the most easterly of these rooms has been removed, creating a large walk-in storage space for instruments and music. The remaining room is equipped with computers and desks and is used by students who need or wish to work without distraction. The southwest quarter of the floor space is open. The teacher's desk sits in

the middle of the space surrounded by a couch, a bank of filing cabinets, a bookcase filled with older method books and reference materials, and a computer desk with a computer and telephone.

A stepped rehearsal space occupies the eastern half of the building. Each of the four steps is about two meters wide and can comfortably accommodate a chair and music stand. Each subsequent step stands about 20 centimeters higher than the step in front of it. The steps run the length of the east wall of the classroom. Near the halfway point between the north and south walls, the steps abruptly turn at about a 30 degree angle towards the southwest corner of the classroom, creating a large open area in the southeast corner of the classroom on the top step. The percussion instruments are left on this top step at all times.

Approximately 50 identical blue chairs, specifically designed to assist instrumental performance, and 50 stands are also always left in place. Additional chairs and stands are stored against the south wall of the classroom.

Two collapsible metal support beams used to support a roof that would otherwise be too wide to be structurally sound, interrupt the rehearsal space. One of the beams sits in front of the first step just to one side of the 30-degree turn, while the other sits in line with it on the second step. Both beams take the place of the inner wall that was removed to create the space.

The room is decorated in band room chic. The south wall near the stepped rehearsal space has large fingering charts for flute, saxophone, French horn, and trumpet, and a poster of Julius Baker, the legendary principal flutist of the New York Philharmonic. The east wall has posters of Johnny Depp dressed as Captain Jack Sparrow

and of Ed Shaugnessy, one of the drummers who worked regularly as a member of The Tonight Show Band in the era of Johnny Carson. Sixteen years' worth of certificates of excellence, awards, commemorative plaques, and photographs from the band's trips to Banff and Abbotsford are mounted on the north wall in the northeast corner of the room and on the south wall near the teacher's desk. Photographs of band students taken at rehearsals in Banff and during various fundraising activities are mounted on large sheets of construction paper and taped to the chalkboard on the west side of the south wall.

This is a well-equipped single purpose room that speaks to the considerable investment in the music program made by both the school district and by the band parents. Walking into the instrument storage space is a revelation. There are tens of thousands of dollars worth of instruments available for student use. Note that the music room is used jointly by Davisville School and an adjoining middle school. The music teacher is a staff member of both schools.

The timetable at Davisville School ran on a weekly schedule. Though all of the other subjects in the school were taught in 80-minute blocks, Mr. Smith elected to teach the Instrumental Music classes in 40-minute blocks. Once the 40-minute class was over, the music students were expected to study, in either one of the student lounges or the school library, or to leave the school entirely during the 40-minute spare that was so created. To accommodate all of the ensembles that played in the school, and to enable students who would otherwise be unable to participate in the music program because of timetable conflicts, Mr. Smith ran classes both before and after school every day of the week. The music timetable is presented in Table 2.

Table 2

The Music Program Schedule at Davisville School

Time Block	Type of Music Class[a]				
	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday
Before School 7:30 a.m. - 8:10 a.m.	Sr. Combo	Stage Band	Stage Band Sectional	Stage Band	Grade 7
Block 1 8:18 a.m. – 8:58 a.m.	Music 6	Music 6	Music 6	Music 6	Music 6
Block 2 9:00 a.m. – 9:46 a.m.	Prep	Prep	Prep	Prep	Prep
Block 3 9:46 a.m. -10:28 a.m.	Music 20 All	Music 20 (Br)	Music 20 (Br)	Music 20 (WW/Hn)	Music 20 (WW/Hn)
Block 4 10:30 a.m.-11:10 a.m.	Music 10 All	Music 10 (Br/Perc)	Music 10 (Br/Perc)	Music 10 (WW)	Music 10 (WW)
Lunch 11:25 a.m. - Noon		Music 10-20-30		Music 10-20-30	Senior Combo
11:43 a.m.-12: 6 p.m.	Grade 8		Grade 8		
Block 6 12:40 p.m.-1:21 p.m.	Music 8	Music 8	Music 9	Music 9	Music 8
Block 7 1:21 p.m.-2:02 p.m.	Spare	Music 7	Music 7	Music 7	Music 9
Block 8 2:02 p.m.-2:45 p.m.	Music 9	Family group	Music 8	Family group	Music 7
After school 3:10 p.m. - 4:00 p.m.	Music 20/30	Gr. 7	Music 20-30	Gr. 7	Junior Combo

Note. [a]Br = brass instruments, Hn = horns, Perc = percussion, WW = woodwinds.

A student who was enrolled in Instrumental Music 10 was expected to attend five classes each week: the Instrumental Music 10 class scheduled in Block 4 on Mondays between 10:30 a.m. and 11:10 a.m., the two Instrumental Music 10-20-30 classes scheduled on Tuesdays and Wednesdays between 11:25 a.m. and noon, and two sectionals scheduled on either Tuesdays and Wednesdays or Thursdays and Fridays between 10:30 a.m. and 11:10 a.m. depending upon the instrument the student played. All of the Instrumental Music 30 classes ran either after school on Mondays and Wednesdays between 3:10 p.m. and 4:00 p.m. or during the lunch recess on Tuesdays and Thursdays between 11:25 a.m. and noon. Several of the Instrumental Music 30 students who participated in the senior combo, the stage band, and the concert band, had 80 minutes of rehearsal each day of the week except Friday, when they only had a single lunch hour rehearsal.

The music teacher. Mr. Smith, the band teacher at Davisville School, was born in a small rural community in northern Alberta in 1962 where his parents farmed. He credits his father for influencing him to enroll in band as an elementary student and to play the trumpet. By the time he was in Grade 8, he had decided to become a band director.

Following a year in a local community college, Mr. Smith transferred to the University of Alberta where he completed his Bachelor of Music in 1985 and his Bachelor of Education in 1986. Then he spent a half a year working as a substitute teacher in and around Wattsville. He accepted a full time position as a music teacher in a small community outside of Williamsville in 1987 where he stayed for two years. In 1989 Mr. Smith accepted the position in Davisville.

He lives in the community with his wife and children. He remains active as a performer and has played with the same brass quintet for the past 10 years. His younger brother is also a teacher.

Mr. Smith views Davisville as "not a very culturally literate place. I mean there are people that are in the know that appreciate the arts, [but] . . . it's basically a redneck community." He suggested that local inhabitants would prefer an Elvis impersonator or a country and western band to hearing the performance of a jazz band. He spoke of the challenges this presented:

> This is my 16th year here and I've tried to educate the people. And people always show up for the Christmas concerts and the year-end concerts. And there's always like 700 people there for those concerts. But they come 'cause their kid's in the band. We try and educate them when they're there, but just . . . to try and encourage them to stay for the whole concert is a major undertaking, a mammoth undertaking because they usually like to leave after their kid plays. . . . You just don't change people like that.

It is interesting to compare Mr. Smith's view of the cultural literacy of the community's residents with their support of the music program. While many of the residents may prefer what could be termed lowbrow music rather than the classics, the level of community support for the music program, as demonstrated by the quality of investment in the music room and the instruments, was quite strong. It appears that Mr. Smith is predisposed to distinguishing various segments of the population based on their cultural capital, as indicated by their musical tastes.

Summary of the Davisville Site

Davisville is a comfortable, affluent community. The economic capital that the majority of community members possess seems to have been acquired, either directly or

indirectly, through the exploitation of primary resources – chiefly fossil fuels. The affluence of the community permeates the school and the music classroom. Mr. Smith, who appears to possess a distinctly different kind of cultural capital than that possessed by the majority of other community members, has been successful in establishing and maintaining an Instrumental Music program that exceeds the provincial norms with respect to enrollment. It appears that he has been able to accomplish this feat by appropriating the cultural values of the community. Because they are solidly middle class and possess a strong work ethic, the community members in Davisville accept as legitimate the aesthetic judgments of those persons whom they deem to be expert, especially when those judgments are consistent with their own evaluations. Mr. Smith has employed his cultural capital – which is consistent with that of the established music education community – to maintain his position within the community by successfully competing in music festivals during his tenure as band director at Davisville School.

Site Comparisons

A Comparison of the Communities

These four sites are in north central Alberta; the communities are within 150 kilometers of Alberta's capital city, Wattsville. Of the four communities in this study, Louisville has the largest population, approaching 15,000, followed by Davisville with 5,000. Both are experiencing the growth common to Alberta communities that have some connection to the oil industry. They are much larger in size than the villages of Stevensville and Thomasville, each with populations of approximately 500 persons. In contrast to their larger counterparts, these two villages are in economic and demographic

decline. A disproportionate share of the income of their residents (almost 18% in the case of Thomasville), comes from government transfers. The average family income of a two-income household in Davisville is almost three times that of a similar household in Thomasville. Part of the difference in incomes across the communities can be explained by differences in the median ages of their residents. The median age of residents in three of the communities is similar to that of Alberta as a whole (35 years); whereas that in Thomasville is almost 56 years.

A major difference between the two larger compared to the two smaller communities is economic. The larger communities are suburban and industrial in character, with historical links to an agricultural past. Their proximity to the city of Wattsville changed the nature of interactions within them. For example, while their residents shopped locally for groceries and inexpensive household goods, they shopped in Wattsville for larger ticket items. Yet there were viable and apparently successful businesses within each of these communities. A significant portion of the adult population also traveled to Wattsville to work and for entertainment. In contrast, the villages were rural and agriculturally-based. Compared to their larger counterparts, there were only a handful of businesses in the two villages, most of which seemed minimally viable.

The relationship between the community's economic and social capitals was commented on by several of those interviewed. The principal of Davisville School, Mr. Roberts, noted that the relative affluence of the community was a function of the work ethic of the parents who were, in his view, largely blue collar workers. The principal of Stevensville School, Mr. Morrison, observed that a significant proportion of the students

who attended the school lived on acreages, yet the socioeconomic status of those persons varied widely; he initially offered a conventional view of the relationship between cultural capital and economic status, a suggestion that he quickly rescinded. However, Mrs. Daniels, the teacher at Stevensville suggested that many of the parents did not have high expectations of their children for either academic success or for an academic or professional career. She linked her perception of the academic expectations of the parents to the low socioeconomic status of the community. Mr. Charles, the principal of Thomasville School, also recognized that the socioeconomic status of the students in his school varied widely. Only Mr. Roberts explicitly made the connection between the socioeconomic status of the residents and community values.

Two of the communities, Louisville and Stevensville, were viewed as troubled in terms of the use of alcohol and illegal drugs but perhaps not more so than most communities in Alberta.

Part of the fit between the community's capital and those of its key players is reflected in its potential to offer a residential base for them. In this study the key players are the principals and music teachers. I do not consider students to be key players in this respect because they do not choose where to live; their parents do that for them.

The majority of the principals lived outside of the community in which they worked regardless of the number of years they worked at their schools. Only Mr. Miller of Louisville School resided in the community in which he was principal.

In contrast to the principals, three of the four teachers lived in or close to the communities in which they taught, though none was raised in or near to them. However, they saw themselves as outsiders to some extent, either because of differences in social

and cultural capital, or by the very fact of coming into the community from the outside. Two teachers had had longstanding relationships with their communities. Mr. Stuart, the band teacher in Louisville School, had lived in Louisville for about 20 years prior to being hired to teach at Louisville School. The other, Mrs. Daniels, lived in a larger community about 25 kilometers west of Stevensville. She had been raised in a small but comparatively wealthy community 50 kilometers from where she was employed.

The parents associated with three of the four schools appeared to be committed to having music programs. This commitment was shown in the facilities and instruments that had been provided for the programs, and by the ongoing fundraising efforts of parental groups. Three of the music teachers spoke of the social insignificance of the music programs compared to the schools' sports programs and those of the community-at-large. Due to the size of the student population within the schools in which they taught, only one of the teachers could risk scheduling a concert or other extra-curricular band activity at a time when it might conflict with a community sporting event.

In spite of the community commitment to the music program, three of the four teachers saw those citizens as unsophisticated and artistically illiterate. Only one did not make disparaging comments of this nature. I suggest that it was because this teacher did not recognize the difference between his cultural capital and that of the members of the community in which he lived and taught. It appears that where a difference in cultural capital existed between an interviewee and those of the community in which he or she worked, the interviewee was predisposed to denigrate the cultural capital of the community members.

A Comparison of the Schools

Overview. All schools in this study had small populations, defined for the purposes of this study as less than 463. The senior high school student population of Davisville School (approximately 325) was nearly twice that of Louisville School (approximately 160), and almost three times that of both Stevensville and Thomasville Schools (approximately 115 and 130 senior high students respectively). Most of the students who attended Davisville School lived in the community, with the exception of a significant minority who lived in a small community about 10 kilometers north of Davisville. All of the students who attend Louisville School lived in Louisville, with the exception of those attending the school's special programs or attending because they have been barred from enrolling in schools elsewhere. The student populations from both Thomasville and Stevensville Schools were bussed into the community from as far as 25 kilometers away to schools located on the villages' periphery. Thus any sense of community they developed with their peers was not on the basis of living in the same community.

Some of the students interviewed identified themselves as community outsiders, specifically at the Thomasville School. Both students said that they had gravitated towards music as a way of distinguishing themselves from the other community members.

Each school is embedded in its community and the relationship between the two was the focus of some discussion with those interviewed. The principals were aware of the relationship between the school and what went on in the community. They focused on the work ethic and the economic status of the community members and its influence on

the student body, and thus on the school. Amongst the principals, Mr. Roberts of Davisville School spoke of the positive relationship between the parental work ethic and the expectations of their children's school performance, as well as the support he received from parents when performance was at issue. Mr. Miller of Louisville School was the one principal who lived in the community where he worked and he was deeply embedded in his school's community in ways that his colleagues were not in theirs. As well as being a school administrator, he had community responsibilities both with his church and in the community-at-large. Mr. Morrison of Stevensville School spoke of both the support offered by the community to the school and the wide range of socioeconomic backgrounds of the student body. Mr. Charles of Thomasville School spoke of the strong sense of community and tradition that informed the relationship between the community members and the school.

The principals. All four of the principals were male. Three of the four principals began their university careers in faculties other than education and had all either completed or were pursuing a Master of Business Administration in Education. The fourth principal differed from the other three in that he completed his first undergraduate degree without changing faculties. Whereas the other principals identified themselves as administrators and to some extent as businesspersons, this principal (Mr. Morrison) identified himself first and foremost as a teacher and appeared to be more interested in traditional academic pursuits. In fact he had completed a graduate degree in English literature, as opposed to a graduate degree in Education. This may have been the result of familial influence. One principal, Mr. Miller, had considerable social capital in the community, especially with respect to establishing sports programs.

A Comparison of Instrumental Music Programs

Overview. All of the music classrooms were functional and practical. The one at Davisville School was shared with the adjoining middle school for its music classes. The only other classroom that shared space was at Stevensville, where the room was used for non-music classes as well as for Instrumental Music. Louisville was the only school with a one-level rather than a tiered classroom. In short, though the classrooms differed in size and quality, each of those rooms was functional and consistent with the way in which the rest of the school was appointed.

The timetable in Louisville School operated on a two-day schedule; Instrumental Music 10-20-30 was offered every other day. Though the timetable at Stevensville School ran on a six-day schedule, Instrumental Music 10-20-30 was offered on days two, four, and six of the timetable. The scheduling of the programs at Louisville and Stevensville School was effectively the same; each school offered Instrumental Music every other day for approximately 84 minutes. Instrumental Music classes at Louisville School ran in the afternoon while those at Stevensville School ran in the morning. The timetable at Thomasville School ran on a five-day schedule. Instrumental Music ran on days two and four for 84 minutes and on day five for 42 minutes. The timetable of Davisville School, because it was tied into the timetable of the adjoining middle school in order to accommodate Mr. Smith's teaching schedule, ran on a weekly schedule, All of the classes were scheduled on a daily basis. If a class ran only on Mondays and Monday was a holiday, the class did not meet for two weeks. While all music programs operated on schedules that had been administratively imposed (i.e., that meshed with the needs of the larger organization), the one at Davisville was altered by the music teacher to adhere

to the concept of distributed practice. This concept is based on the assumption that a student will better acquire a skill such as music by being exposed to frequent, relatively short training periods, rather than less frequent but lengthier ones.

The teachers. Three of the four teachers in this study were male. Their family histories varied considerably.

The youngest, who was 36 years of age, had taught for 12 years while the eldest, who was 51 years of age, had taught for 9. Three of the four teachers had family members with teaching experience. Three of the four teachers either began teaching or made the decision to pursue a career in education in their teenage years. The fourth teacher reported that he elected to pursue a career in education in his late 30s after having spent 20 years in the entertainment industry. All teachers began their university careers with the intention of a teaching career. One noteworthy distinction between the teachers and principals was the differences in their career paths: all of the teachers began their university careers with the intention of becoming teachers; three of the four principals began their university careers in faculties other than education and had all either completed or were pursuing a Master of Business Administration in Education.

The length of the teachers' careers varied from 10 to 20 years. Three of the teachers had spent at from 5 to 16 years at the school in which they were currently employed. The remaining teacher, who had taught for only 9 years, had not experienced the stability provided by continuous employment in one school because he had never taught in the same school for two consecutive years. This teacher was the oldest of the four participating teachers, the only subject who made the decision to start teaching

relatively late in life, and the only teacher whose immediate family did not also include other teachers.

Though the sample size of this study precludes any generalizations to the larger population, this finding is intriguing and suggests a research question that should be pursued elsewhere: How do the professional lives of teachers who make the decision to enter the teaching profession relatively late in life compare with the professional lives of those teachers who make that decision relatively early in life?

The family histories of each of the teachers were in many respects similar and typical of residents in Alberta. Notwithstanding the commonality of an economic impetus to immigration, the economic, social, and cultural capitals of each of the four teachers were different. Inasmuch as the personal history of each of the subjects is unique that personal history necessarily produces a unique cultural capital.

All of the teachers were employed to do nominally similar jobs. However, their preparedness to teach (i.e., the cultural capital that each of the teachers brought to his or her job) differed. Though all of the teachers held a Bachelor of Education, only three majored in music education; the fourth was an elementary reading specialist and was first given a music position because she could play the piano. One of the teachers held a Bachelor of Music as well as a Bachelor of Education, and one held a Masters of Education in Educational Administration.

The perspective of the teachers as a group differed from that of the principals. Whereas the teachers focused on the general lack of cultural sophistication within the communities, the principals focused on the work ethic and the economic status of the community members. This is consistent with the idea that the teachers thought of

themselves as educators, and the principals thought of themselves as administrators, albeit in educational settings. It is not surprising that the music teachers focused on the cultural capital of the community members, of which orientation to music is one form, whereas the principals focused on their economic and social capitals, which are more relevant to successful school administration. The implications of these differences in orientation can be summarized as follows: The music teachers believe that their subject is seen to be of less value compared to subjects that enjoy a more privileged position within the school curriculum. In this context, they see that the way to increase the value of their subject, relative to their principal's and community's perception of it, is to bolster the school's capital through engaging in successful public performance of music, including winning prizes at music festivals.

The students. As a group the students were less able or perhaps less willing to discuss their family backgrounds. Whereas there appeared to be some underlying commonalities in the personal histories of the principals and teachers, no such commonalities, other than the shared historical experience of familial dislocation – a dislocation that is increasingly removed from the direct experience of the students – appeared among the students. The cultural, social, and economic capitals of the nine students I interviewed varied significantly. At one extreme was a student who had the intellectual, economic, and social capital to want to pursue a doctorate in astrophysics. At the other was a student who described himself as a poor student, with aspirations to play in a punk band when he finished school. Unlike the students from the other schools, all of whom were of high academic standing, none of the students from Louisville School reported being of high academic standing. And it was the Instrumental Music students at

Louisville whose animosity towards each other was unique compared to those in the other schools. However, given that I interviewed only nine students in four schools, generalizations from these interviews are simply not warranted.

The results of the student questionnaire (Appendix I) can be used to give an overall picture of some aspects of the Instrumental Music students in this study. The resultant picture provides one overview within which to understand the teacher's practice in the classroom.

Of the total of 118 Instrumental Music students at the four schools, 100 responded to the questionnaire. The response rates were high in all schools: 62 of the 76 students at Davisville responded, 4 of the 5 at Louisville, all 17 at Stevensville, and 17 of the 20 students at Thomasville. Because the sizes of the groups in each school are so uneven, I report only the frequency counts related to the various questions rather than performing any more sophisticated statistical analysis.

The frequency with which students practice obviously impacts the practice of the teacher; a teacher who hopes to realize merely a satisfactory musical performance must alter her teaching practice to compensate for the lack of practice of her students. The responses about practice habits outside of the classroom corroborated the teachers' anecdotal evidence that most students do not practice very much, if at all. Of the 100 respondents, 54 indicated that they had not practiced at all; 10, once; 6, twice; 11, three times; and 19 more than three times, in the month preceding the administration of the questionnaire. Only one student indicated that she practiced on a daily basis. Given the discrepancy between the ideal and actual frequencies of practice, the questionnaire

supports the view that teachers would need to compensate for this difference in their teaching strategies.

In terms of ownership, 74 students indicated that they owned their own instrument. Intriguingly, there appears to be some evidence of a negative correlation between the ownership of instruments and a commitment to practice. Though 87% of the students at Davisville School reported that they owned an instrument, only 6% of these students reported that they had practiced more than three times in the month preceding administration of the questionnaire. Though only 59% of the students at Thomasville School reported that they owned an instrument; most of the students at Thomasville (64%) indicated that they had practiced more than three times in the preceding month. This suggests an inverse relationship between economic capital and an interest in the acquisition of cultural capitals that are seen as specifically elevating the cultural status of the student. This appears to support Bourdieu's argument that capital is transferable. Economic capital can be used to purchase cultural capital, and social capital can form the basis of one's economic capital. There appears to be a relationship between pre-existing economic capital and the willingness to invest one's time in the acquisition of specific forms of cultural capital. Those who may have the money to purchase cultural capital may not need to invest their time in the acquisition of the skills necessary to demonstrate the possession of cultural capital.

Multi-instrumentalism in the student population speaks to a kind of cultural capital that could be more widely appropriated in Instrumental Music classes. Most students (61) indicated that they played more than one instrument. Of those other instruments played, the most noteworthy were piano (34) and guitar (11). Most of the students were multi-

instrumentalists, and this multi-instrumentalism did not typically involve percussion instruments. These statistics speak to the specific kinds of cultural capital the students bring to their band experience and the kinds of cultural activities that their parents considered worthwhile in which to invest.

A majority of the respondents (60) had received or were receiving private instruction on a musical instrument. Of those with private training: 46 had, at some point, taken piano lessons; 7 had taken either guitar or bass guitar lessons; 5 had taken lessons on a percussion instrument; 5 had taken lessons on a wind instrument (2 on trumpet, and 1 each on flute, clarinet, and French horn). Of the five students who had taken lessons on a wind instrument, three had also received piano lessons. The relatively low number of students who received private instruction on wind instruments suggests that, as an economic investment, investing in the cultural capital associated with wind-playing is generally not seen as being worthwhile.

Results related to listening practices show that most respondents (68) had either downloaded music from the Internet or purchased a compact disc in the previous month; and that their listening preferences were largely the popular forms of music (i.e., metal, rap, country, and pop, as shown in Appendix J). Clearly there is a difference between the genres of music that students report listening to and the genre of music they performed as members of their school bands. They appeared content to both listen to popular music and yet perform a genre associated with a largely marginalized musical community (i.e., the music of the wind-percussion ensemble community). This supports Elliott's (1995) claim of a difference between the activities of listening to music and of playing it.

The final question was about participation in ensembles. All of the students indicated that they were members of their school's concert band. Davisville School was the only one in the study that had a stage band and a jazz combo; 16 of the respondents were members of their school's stage band, in addition to the concert band; and 6 were members of their school's jazz combo, again in addition to the concert band. None of the Davisville students reported belonging to an ensemble outside of the classroom; one student at another school participated in such an ensemble.

The results of the questionnaire show that the students have cultural wealth in ownership, the ability to play more than one instrument, and in private music lessons. If recognized, that cultural capital could be utilized in the classroom. However, the teachers did not appear to be aware that this wealth existed. And with that recognition, they were not in a position to utilize it in their teaching practice.

Chapter Four: Pedagogical Practice

Introduction

Practice, unlike a person's history or his conception of community, is directly observable. Understanding practice requires that a researcher engages the person whose practice is observed in a discourse about it. The findings that I report here are the product of my observations of classroom interaction and of my interviews with the teachers whom I observed. I have included extracts from some of these interviews to allow the teachers' voices to be heard. Because some readers may not be familiar with musical terminology as the teachers speak, I have provided short annotations within brackets where appropriate.

It became clear during my interviews with principals and students that neither had much to say about teacher practice. In three of the four sites that I studied it was not clear whether or not the principals had spent any time in the classroom directly observing the teachers' practice. Given that each of the teachers in these sites had taught for at least a decade and that each was demonstrably effective, or at the very least that they had been accepted as such, it was not clear that the principals could or should have spent any time observing that practice. One of the principals reported that it was clear from the kinds of interactions that he had with the music teacher outside of the classroom, in conjunction with the anecdotal information that was provided to him from parents and students, that the teacher was an exemplary music teacher. This assessment was confirmed to the principal by the standard of music performance evident at school concerts, the continued

support of the music program by the students and their parents, and the music program's winning record at music festivals.

Only in Louisville School did the principal and I not talk about the teacher's practice. That school had not been able to establish a continuously functioning senior high Instrumental Music program at any point in its history. The teachers' pedagogical practices at each school are described in turn. An analysis of the practices across schools follows in Chapter Five.

Pedagogical Practice in the Stevensville School Instrumental Music Program

A Sample Class

The class described here is Instrumental Music 10-20-30 on Wednesday, March 2, 2005 from 10:11 a.m. to 11:37 a.m. As the students entered the classroom several approached Mrs. Daniels, their teacher, with two concerns: an upcoming fashion show and a missing baritone saxophone mouthpiece. After speaking briefly with the students about their concerns, the teacher turned to all of the students present, commenting: "I'm going to have to talk to Mr. Roberts 'cause I'm gonna need you guys for the next two weeks." The Instrumental Music class was timetabled at the same time as a Job Safety class. Many of the students were enrolled in both subjects concurrently. Such students went to the Job Safety class first, listened to the teacher's opening remarks, found out what the assignments were, and then went to the music class.

One of the students, a clarinetist, asked Mrs. Daniels, "Are we working on pep rally stuff?" Two of the other students, a male trumpet player, and a female alto saxophone player, started playing *The Steppes of Russia*.

At 10:22 a.m. students from the job safety class were still entering the room. Mrs. Daniels, who had been standing at her podium sorting music, turned to her students once again and said: "Come on, let's go." At 10:25 a.m. she formally started the class with a discussion of pertinent non-music issues: field trips, the sale of raffle tickets for a recliner, the donation of items for a silent auction, and the upcoming fashion show. At 10:30 a.m. students were still arriving as the discussion of non-music issues continued: parents who would be willing to drive to West Wattsville Mall to pick up items for the fashion show were needed; six parents would be needed to help in the change rooms during the fashion show; additional parents would be needed to help with the silent auction. The teacher noted that parents do not volunteer for these activities; she wanted her students to apply whatever leverage they might have at home to get their parents to help.

The list of non-music issues continued: requests for assistance would appear in an upcoming newsletter; a date for the rehearsal for the fashion show was discussed. The possibility of students using the music room for the development of choreography for the fashion show was also discussed. A student asked a question about a new stage. The students began to talk among themselves; the teacher stopped talking, looked down towards the ground and waited until the talking stopped. In response to the question about the new stage there was some discussion of the fact that the teacher had applied for grant money that was to be used towards its purchase. The teacher concluded her comments about the non-musical issues and turned to the musical ones saying, "Let's warm up with the pep rally stuff."

The class began playing with the theme from *Batman*; there was no warm-up per se. Before the class began to play, the teacher commented that this was band homework month. The teacher looked down at a clarinetist sitting directly in front of her and asked, "Are you mortally wounded?"

As the students began to play, a buzz emanated from the bass amplifier. The sound was distracting and several students tried to fix it. The teacher asked what the problem was and the students offered an explanation. Mrs. Daniels commented that she knew nothing about the bass guitar; she accepted the students' explanation, thanking them for their help in trying to fix the problem.

As the students played the next selection, *Lean on Me*, the bass guitar was barely audible, the drums overpowering. The bassist struggled through the entire class: his playing position was awkward and his fingers extended beyond the upper side of the neck effectively depressing the strings with the underside of the fingertips near the first joint. He looked at the music but could not read it. His expression was one of embarrassment and humiliation almost every time I looked at him.

The drummer was in some respects the antithesis of the bassist. At one point the teacher said, somewhat sarcastically, that it was nice to have such a confident drummer. As I observed earlier, the drummer's sound was overpowering. He appeared insensitive to the demands of the music and of the ensemble of which he was a part. He rushed, executed his fills poorly, lost the pulse, and rhythmically reasserted himself over the ensemble. He was not however without some recognition of his limitations. When he made an obvious mistake he often grimaced, closed his eyes, and shook his head as if in disbelief.

As the class began the next selection, *La Bamba*, the teacher said, "Trumpets, some improvement has been made." The class played through the song twice. The performance was far from perfect and it appeared from the expression on their faces that the students knew it. Mrs. Daniels remarked, "That'll do, that'll do."

The class played the next tune, *Tequila,* without comment, before attempting *Tunes That Go Bump in the Night*. Before the class began to play there was some discussion about audience participation. Mrs. Daniels was looking for someone who could be planted in the audience to respond in mock horror to the song. There was some discussion of specific senior high students who might be able to perform this task without going overboard. A student suggested that the principal might be asked, but Mrs. Daniels did not think that it would be appropriate. The teacher assigned the trumpets measures 5 to 9 as homework.

The class then began work on a pair of Dixieland songs. They first played *Down by the Riverside* before starting work *Oh When the Saints*. There were problems with the latter song not the least of which was having the students start together. The teacher asked the students to look at their key signature and one responded by saying, "I don't have a key signature." The teacher did not respond to this comment; it was not clear at all that she heard it.

The class next rehearsed *Under the Sea*. Mrs. Daniels commented that she thought that there had been some improvement in the students' performance of this piece since the last time they played it. She believed that there was still room for improvement. She said, "Clarinets, I'm gonna put you down for just the first eight measures."

Mrs. Daniels then advised that the class that they would not be performing *I'll be There* at the pep rally because the results in the previous rehearsal had been unacceptable and there wasn't enough time to get it right before the pep rally. The class moved on to the next piece, *Leaving on a Jet Plane*. Mrs. Daniels observed, "This one is still up in the air." Her remark was commented on by some of her students. The class played the song and Mrs. Daniels said, "Bye, bye jet plane" as she drew a line with a pencil through her music.

After abandoning *Jet Plane,* Mrs. Daniels had her students run through *In the Mood.* Again she was uncertain as to whether or not her students were prepared to perform this piece. The trumpets in particular were having difficulty with the opening few measures. The teacher was prepared to edit the music so that the students could play those parts of the music that they could perform acceptably. She stated that a decision about whether the piece would be played at the pep rally was to be made at a later date.

The class then quickly ran through *Jump, Jive, and Wail*. The saxophones and clarinets were given measures 17 to 21 as homework. The teacher commented that what the students should be aiming for was "not perfection, but spirit … noise." One saxophonist critiqued another saying, "You missed a note." The second student responded, "I missed all the notes."

Following *Jump, Jive, and Wail* the class turned to *Mission Impossible.* The teacher looked through her music for spare parts and made a note to herself on the score. A clarinet player got up and walked to the front of the class. One of the trumpet players, seated at the end of the line of trumpet players, stood up, moved down the line and

looked at the music that was in front of the other players with a puzzled expression on his face.

The teacher did not attempt to conduct a five-beat pattern. Instead she gestured to indicate the general shape of the melodic line saying, "We're not playing it the way it is written. Davey starts, Ernest and Justin start and the rest of the class starts at measure 5." After they had played the piece to its end, it appeared once again as if the students as a whole were not pleased with their performance. Mrs. Daniels advised them, "It's up to you, it's up to you … if you practice it it's in. If you don't it's out."

The class moved on to its next selection, *It's my Party*. Once again there was some discussion about where the band should start playing. There appeared to be consensus that the class had decided to start at measure 24. As the rest of the class played, one trumpeter's mouthpiece got stuck. He got out of his chair and walked down the steps to the cabinets along the north wall of the room. He found the mouthpiece puller that was stored in the cabinet, sat on the floor and removed his mouthpiece, taking his time as he did so. As there were some problems with the piece, the teacher assigned part of it as homework.

After working on *It's My Party,* the class moved on to the next piece, *I'm a Believer*. Again there was some discussion about where to begin. One of the students remarked, "We didn't decide anything." The teacher called for "90 to the 2nd ending, pick up to the 2nd ending." One of the clarinet players bobbed her head in time to the music. Her head was late; so was her playing. The piece fell apart. The teacher asked the class to once again play the last two measures, reminding the trumpet players about their posture as she did so.

A problem appeared in the alto saxophone part. The sheet of music that the student was playing off of had been photocopied and enlarged. The enlargement had eliminated some of the notation.

There appeared to be less talking during this class than in the previous classes that I had observed. I wondered whether the lack of talking is a function of the gender balance in the class. In my discussions with this teacher I raised this issue with her. She thought it was a characteristic of the particular students she has in this class, rather than a function of gender balance.

At measure 71 the drum set player quit playing. The teacher tapped her baton on the stand to keep the beat. Once again there was some discussion as to whether or not the class would play this song at the pep rally. The teacher told the class that they would play from measure 71 to the 1st ending "if you practice."

The class moved on to the next selection, *Do Wa Diddy*. The flute parts were missing and the teacher made a note in her score. A decision had been made that the class was going to play from the beginning of the piece only as far as measure 19. Once again the class had difficulty starting. The bass player could not find his music. The teacher asked the students to check their key signature. The flute player played from the alto saxophone part. The teacher commented, "It seems empty 'cause we're missing the whole bottom."

The teacher stopped conducting and stood still simply looking at her students. Like a doting mother who disapproved of her children's unacceptable behavior, she appeared exasperated commenting, "I don't know if we have time to work on this … I know that you could get it if we had time." At no time did she express anger.

At 11:10 a.m. the class moved on to the next selection: *Rock'n'Roll Part II: The Hey Song* and *Smoke on the Water*. The teacher said, "Put up your hands if you don't have it." Some of the students started to play and the teacher stopped them saying "I didn't say *play* it . . . shhhh." The students became increasingly talkative. Mrs. Daniels handed out music to those students who needed it. The tenor and baritone saxophonists could not find their music and checked the folders of the junior high band students.

The class sight read this music. The bass player, who appeared shy and introverted, played a glissando on his instrument. The teacher once again drew her students' attention to their posture. The tenor and baritone saxophonists put their instruments down and left the classroom; the baritone player was dancing. The teacher wiggled and smiled as she conducted. The drummer was having problems and the teacher commented, "I know it's early in the morning. Davey hasn't had his two rum and cokes yet."

The teacher then explained the running order of the pep rally. The class started *Smoke on the Water* and made several mistakes. The teacher acknowledged the mistakes and had the class restart. The piece fell apart and the teacher started to give instructions. One of the students sitting directly in front of her, a clarinetist, started to talk. The teacher stopped what she was doing and simply stared at her. The student explained, "I can talk and listen." The teacher responded, "I know *you* can, but *I* can't."

The class restarted *Smoke on the Water,* the teacher drawing her students' attention to the staccato notes. Two of the trumpet students, both males, put their instruments away and left the classroom. They did not ask the teacher if they could leave; they simply got up and left. As it turned out they were on their way to work in the school

concession. The teacher did not stop them, but later checked with the other students about where they were going. The teacher resumed conducting, singing "the fire in the sky."

The class moved on to the next selection, *Na, Na, Hey, Hey*. Once again the teacher handed out parts commenting, "I don't have a score, so I don't know what's going on . . . it probably won't be much different." As the class played it was apparent that the bass player was lost. Once again I suspected that he could not read his music.

Though the class was scheduled to end at 11:37 a.m., the students began to pack up their instruments at 11:30 a.m. The phone rang and the teacher, who was reviewing the order of pieces for the pep rally, ignored it. In the last five minutes of the class the students, who had lots of time left to socialize, did just that.

The Teacher Comments on Her Practice

As we discussed the implementation of curriculum in the classroom, Mrs. Daniels had a very clear idea of how the size of the ensemble impacts the attainment of curricular objectives:

> RESEARCHER: So what I did want to talk about specifically this time around is the practice in the classroom. Because the question that guides the whole research project is the question of how do music teachers implement the curriculum in smaller schools. When you are faced with this problem, what specific problems do you see that you encounter?
>
> MRS. DANIELS: The first huge one is the timetabling. The group that I am given to work with is rarely if ever a balanced band and the focus of the curriculum is on providing students with skills to operate in a balanced band. And usually there's the playing of the instruments skills and the mechanics of it . . . but the focus on musical expression and growing musicians, those things are very difficult to deal with. And it's the same thing as going to a festival. My festival marks, my festival comments are consistently excellent, superior, very good for notation, rhythm . . . very weak on the music, very weak on the musicality of the pieces.

RESEARCHER: So are you saying then, that the fact that you're dealing with a limited instrumentation impacts on the musicality of the performance?

MRS. DANIELS: M-huh, absolutely. Now I'm not saying that it's entirely their fault; mostly, it sounds like it could also be my fault, or not my fault, but my limited experience and my limited training. So I can only teach what I know and what I know is the rhythm and the notes. Being musical is so much more than that.

RESEARCHER: That's an interesting comment, because it speaks to the notion of what constitutes musicality, right? So your perception is that it's somehow more than the notes and the rhythm, right?

MRS. DANIELS: Yes. And it obviously is because in the five years that I've attended festivals the comments are very similar.

RESEARCHER: So the question then is one of expression right?

MRS. DANIELS: Probably, and how to help the students be expressive. Now I do feel that I would be able to better do that in a larger group. And I have done that in a larger group. In my experience in F . . . my group was 72 and . . . I didn't face those comments.

Thus, Mrs. Daniels saw the curriculum's focus as "providing the students with skills to operate in a balanced band" and recognized that this is problematic in a small school. She cited as evidence the differences in her music festival experiences as a teacher at a school with a large music program and as a teacher at a school with a small music program. It also appeared as if she considered herself successful in the larger school in which she had taught previously, and believed herself to be less successful in the small school situation in which she now found herself. This concern was further amplified when we discussed the possibility of a national curriculum for band programs:

RESEARCHER: There's also a movement to establish voluntary curriculum standards on a national level. . . . there's two people who have written this curriculum and I know one of them. A very nice man . . . but. . . it gets back to this relationship of field and capital. . . . I know this guy has this huge investment in terms of his cultural capital and the field, and they're perfectly resonant. So in terms of his view . . . this is something that [we all] ought to be doing. But it's a kind of a privileging of your own cultural capital, which actually goes back to the

question of the structure of the programs. Because . . . the curriculum privileges a certain kind of ensemble . . . [T]here are historical reasons for its genesis . . . [that] has to do with standardization which allows for competition. So there's competition actually built into the very . . .

MRS. DANIELS: Absolutely.

RESEARCHER: . . . curriculum. And that's why there's a kind of systemic problem. Because it has to do with the embeddedness of competition within the curriculum, and the fact that you don't have the resources in small schools. So in other words, there needs to be an alternative strategy. And then what you've done is, is you've actually articulated it . . . which is to say one is in multi-instrumentalism . . .

MRS. DANIELS: . . . and the manipulation of the repertoire.

RESEARCHER: That's right, the manipulation of the repertoire. And what's interesting is in large schools you don't have to do that. In small schools you do. In small schools you have to manipulate the repertoire. . . . There are now computing programs that will allow you to do that. But . . . if you don't have access to those things in your school . . . then, you know then you're going to be . . . .

MRS. DANIELS: SOL.

Although she recognized the possibility of altering the literature to fit the instrumental resources available to the music teacher in a small school, Mrs. Daniels said she did not have the necessary technical skills to do so. As she spoke to this issue, her comments revealed her need to find balance within her teaching practice:

MRS. DANIELS: I have to be a language arts teacher, a social studies teacher, and a music teacher.

RESEARCHER: Right, and a counselor.

MRS. DANIELS: And a counselor.

RESEARCHER: And a mom.

MRS. DANIELS: . . . but I cannot be a poor LA [language arts] teacher and social teacher at the expense of being an excellent music teacher.

RESEARCHER: Right.

> MRS DANIELS: And so if I did channel all my resources into becoming the best music teacher I could be, then those other things would necessarily suffer, right? They would necessarily suffer. . . . So I have to achieve a balance.

It is apparent that though she may not want to, Mrs. Daniels internalized the criticism of the band. She attributed the lack of musicality to both the limited instrumentation of her ensemble and to her limited experience and training. Her comment is consistent with Bourdieu's claim that practice is a function of habitus, capital, and field; her limited experience and limited training can be construed as a comment on her cultural capital and its inadequacies in dealing with the challenges of a setting with both low student enrollment and imposed expectations of performance that would apply to groups with larger human resources. Not surprisingly, Mrs. Daniels appears to be demoralized by what she considers to be the persistent failure of her bands at music festivals:

> MRS. DANIELS: I've actually come to the conclusion that entering festivals is not for us because constantly we are told: "Excellent performance, I'm giving you two, you know in a comparison of two bands … I'm giving it to the bigger band because they sounded better." Well of course they did, you ninny; of course they did. But that's not positive training for my students. It's not for me.
>
> So although I have operated under the perception that music teachers enter festivals . . . basically because I'm not competitive and I can take a lot of criticism, and I do accept that it's not about me . . . it's a group and you can only work with what you have . . . But why are we setting ourselves up then for failure? 'Cause I do see not winning consistently, as a failure. Whenever you enter a competition the kids ask, "What did we get? How did we do?" Well look at all these positive comments, you know. Anything to do with stage presence and deportment and behavior and enthusiasm . . . we're always five . . . off the top end. And when it comes to assessment from a professional musician . . . we're not doing it. We're not cutting it.
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> RESEARCHER: Again that speaks to the question of adjudication.
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> MRS. DANIELS: But the adjudicator is adjudicating on the goals that are similar to the curriculum.
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> RESEARCHER: That's right.

> MRS. DANIELS: Well exactly. So the comments that I'm getting from adjudication would be a criticism of the way that I'm teaching the curriculum.

In short, Mrs. Daniels argued that this failure is neither good for her students or for herself. When she did so, she revealed her identification with her students in a way that some might consider to be the hallmark of an excellent teacher and that others might consider pedagogically unsound. A teacher who does not distance herself from her students cannot dispassionately evaluate her students, because an evaluation of her students is also an evaluation of herself. In this case the tendency to identify with her students was not total; Mrs. Daniels clearly retained her ability to differentiate between herself and her students. To lose this ability to differentiate would be morally unsound and Mrs. Daniels was acutely aware of both her moral and professional responsibilities. Nonetheless her tendency to identify with her students appeared to have a positive effect on her relationship with her students. She cared about her students in a genuine way that communicated itself to them and they showed that they cared about her, as well.

Further on the topic of the curriculum, Mrs. Daniels stated that it is not appropriate to the context in which she works. Our interview continued with a discussion of the kinds of instrumental ensemble endorsed by the curriculum in Alberta, before turning again to a consideration of strategies for its implementation in the small school in which she taught:

> RESEARCHER: So the problem is that the curriculum has this model, and what I hear you saying is the thing that I've been thinking all along, which is that in a school of this size, the model is inappropriate, right? And so in terms of your practice, you've already suggested certain strategies that you employ to work around the deficiencies. So for example, you have students play more than one instrument because that allows you to address certain deficiencies as they arise.

MRS. DANIELS: If I have the talent and the interest to do so. Some years I haven't. Then I'm shackled. My decisions in the events that I put the kids into are also a reflection of the small school reality. We are successful playing things like pep rally and the awards night and recognition night, where there's a small focus. When we have to compete against the larger schools . . . we can't, we just can't. So I'm not going to anymore.

RESEARCHER: You know I came to that conclusion myself some time ago. I was tired of having people go, "This is right, this is right, this is right . . . you know you're doing all these things right, but you know what this isn't . . .

MRS. DANIELS: . . . a real band.

RESEARCHER: . . . a real band.

Mrs. Daniels concluded that because of its small size her class did not meet the requirements for a band as implied by the curriculum. She spoke to the dilemma of the dissonance between what was expected of her and the resources available:

MRS. DANIELS: I work with what I have.

RESEARCHER: That's right. You work with what you have. And it would be absurd in some respects not to do that, to beat your head against the wall for what you don't have.

MRS. DANIELS: It's not productive. But there are lots of times I dream. I do that and I have to really keep myself focused on the fact that I am doing the best I can with what I'm being given. And that the expectations of people around me mirror my own expectations. I have to consciously make sure that we're all on the same page. The administrators, the parent group, students, ... so that nobody is disappointed.

She provided models of competitive sports programs that dealt more appropriately, in her opinion, with the issue of size, than did music competitions:

MRS. DANIELS: The other issue I'm also very involved in [is] my boys' sports program. They play high school football for B . . . which is a tier three school. And what I find interesting is in all athletic competition schools are divided: tier one, two, and three based on population. . . . How can a school with 250 compete in a football situation with a school of 2,500?

RESEARCHER: Can't do it.

> MRS. DANIELS: They can't. So how then does a school of 250 compete in a music festival with a school of 2,500? Well you can't. Well . . . we try. We take advantage of all the opportunities that are available to us, but don't expect to win. Don't expect to be recognized for your strengths.

Mrs. Daniels appeared to be advocating a multi-tiered system of music festivals that would allow instrumental music programs in small schools to compete against music programs in similar schools. Such multi-tiered systems do exist in some jurisdictions, for example in Texas (Association of Texas Small School Bands).

> RESEARCHER: So one of the strategies then that you've articulated is the notion of a kind of multi-instrumentalism: that students can, in fact, they're encouraged to play more than one instrument. And, in fact, I've seen that in place in the classroom, where you have a student playing trumpet and switching to bari[tone] sax and back to trumpet and doing a commendable job on all of those things. He's a very capable student. Sometimes you don't have . . .
>
> MRS. DANIELS: . . . capable students. . . .
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> RESEARCHER: And I've also seen in the classroom, when there were deficiencies, [students] playing percussion because they can play the parts with a kind of minimal technical expertise.
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> MRS. DANIELS: Right. Yes.

As a kind of corollary to her advocacy of multi-instrumentalism, Mrs. Daniels has her students play percussion, partly because the percussion instruments that they play offer minimal technical problems.

When I put the question of alternative strategies to circumventing the problem of instrumentation to her, Mrs. Daniels identified a second strategy related to the selection of performance literature. The criterion that she identified for the selection of a piece is the question: "Can I find anything at their level that's going to sound reasonable with this mix [of instruments]?" Once again she was concerned with image and self-image (as she had been with the results of adjudication at music festivals). This is not meant to be a

negative indictment of Mrs. Daniels, for I would argue that all musicians are at least concerned with aural images; anyone who both claims to be a musician and not to be concerned with image, contradicts herself.

> RESEARCHER: Are there any other specific strategies that you can think of that you know?
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> MRS. DANIELS: Well choice of scores is the first one. I mean I have to discard almost everything with [a] low brass section. Our choice of actually [sic] programming is determined by the make-up of the group. I don't get to sit down and say, "I would love to do this piece of music, or that piece of music." I get to sit down and ask, "Do we have a piece that focuses 12 flutes? Can I find anything at their level that's going to sound reasonable with this mix?" So the membership of the band determines the direction of it, rather than the other way around.
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> RESEARCHER: Again that's hugely important to me because what happens is, as you quite correctly say, fundamentally it's a resource management problem. Right?
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> MRS. DANIELS: M-huh. . . . Four quarterbacks, and no offense line. Or I've got 20 kids that can play tackle and no quarterback that can think his way through the plays. And I do relate most things to sports 'cause that's what my family is involved in.
>
> RESEARCHER: Right.
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> MRS. DANIELS: We take what we get and we work with it, and you make it a positive experience.

Again it appeared as if Mrs. Daniels concern for the quality of her students' experience is best conceptualized as a kind of intuitive grasp of one of the key elements of Elliott's model: that musicing, that is, the act of making music, is as important for the musicer or player, as is the piece of music, itself.

Mrs. Daniels was clearly cognizant of what she called the relationship activities in the band, and used her knowledge and understanding of those activities to maintain and advance the interests of the program:

> MRS. DANIELS: And with all of the fund raising activities and the relationship activities that I feel are more important with the band . . . that's where my energy goes.
> RESEARCHER: Yeah. . . . You have some real strengths as a teacher . . . if you think of capital exclusively as economic, social or cultural . . . you recognize [that] you do have, in terms of cultural capital, these skills as a teacher.
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> MRS. DANIELS: As a person.
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> RESEARCHER: That's right, as a teacher and as a person. . . . there's an awareness of the social capital that you're dealing with. You're aware of the social context and you exploit those things. . . . perceptions and those skills, in a very conscious and deliberate way, to maximize the experience that your students have.

Mrs. Daniels' practice with respect to relationship activities is interesting because of its relationship to Elliott's praxiological model. That model suggests that musicing is as important to the practice of musicians as is the music. Her practice seems to have extended the notion of action inherent in Elliott's model, to other forms of activity. It appeared as if the activities associated with fundraising were viewed by Mrs. Daniels as an integral part of the course. I would argue that this practice is consistent with much research in students' motivation for participation in music programs (Asmus, 1995; Legette, 1998; Sandene, 1997; Schmidt, 2005; Zdzinski, 1996) that suggests that non-musical motivators are important factors in students' decisions to participate or not to participate in band.

Summary of Classroom Practices

As was the case in all of the programs that I observed for this study, the students did not spend a lot of time warming-up. The warm-up was at times perfunctory; the class may have played a single note.

Mrs. Daniels spent most of her time standing behind her podium as she taught. I cannot recall her moving to stand beside a student as he or she played once during my observation of the classes. Though she did not play an instrument during the classes, she sang at times to provide an illustrative performance model. She used the method of successive approximations; her students repeatedly performed a passage and she critiqued it after each performance. She appeared to be open to accommodate the students' wishes with respect to their performance, and the limitations of their technique.

During the period that I observed the classes at this school, the class prepared for their performance at a pep rally that took place in the school, a festival performance, a band trip to British Columbia, and a spring concert.

As the comments made in the interview suggest, Mrs. Daniels was acutely aware of her own limitations as a music teacher. Nonetheless, she had a clear understanding of how enrollment in the class affects its capability and, more to the point, she employed two specific strategies to deal with this problem: (a) the manipulation of the repertoire and (b) the encouragement of multi-instrumentalism among her students.

Though she was aware of her limitations as a music teacher, she was confident of her abilities as a teacher generally. Her practice suggested that she had a clear understanding of her own cultural and social capitals, and effectively managed those resources to maximize her students' involvement with and interest in the music program in her school. For example, a considerable amount of class time was devoted to the discussion of fundraising activities to support the band's trip to British Columbia, including a fashion show that required extensive planning, and a field trip for fittings to the West Edmonton Mall. Preparation for this activity required what might appear to be

an inordinate amount of class time. I believe that this was not the case; that it was a part of a deliberate strategy to build a kind of social cohesiveness among the band students. In this particular instance the teacher had a clear grasp of her own strengths vis-à-vis her cultural and social capitals, and chose to spend her time in class working on those activities that would ensure the social value of the class to her students. Moreover she recognized of the importance of musicing in her classroom practice.

To summarize: Mrs. Daniels identified several issues that impacted her music program. These issues included (a) instrumental balance, (b) festival adjudications, (c) competition, (d) timetabling, (e) demands on her time with respect to her non-musical teaching duties, and (f) her parental responsibilities. The strategies that she identified to deal with the issue of instrumental balance were manipulation of the repertoire and multi-instrumentalism. She stated that the issues of festival adjudications and competition were causing her to re-think her band's involvement in music festivals and she suggested that music festivals intended specifically for Instrumental Music programs from small schools ought to be considered. She did not identify strategies to deal with issues created by timetabling, workload, or parental responsibilities.

Pedagogical Practices in the Thomasville School Instrumental Music Program

A Sample Class

The class described here is Instrumental Music 10-20-30 on Thursday, March 10, 2005. At 8:55 a.m. students began entering the classroom. They sat, assembled their instruments and talked among themselves. Sitting behind his desk at the front of the room Mr. Parker, the teacher, took attendance.

As the students prepared themselves for the class Mr. Parker, who had recently purchased a new mark tree (a small percussion instrument that consists of approximately 35 metal rods suspended in order of size from a length of wood or plastic, approximately 30 centimeters in length and 5 centimeters in width; played with either the hand or with a beater) for the school, walked to the back of the classroom to help the percussionists jury-rig a stand. A student who happened to play bass guitar quickly volunteered to help him construct a stand; they promptly disappeared through the classroom door. Mr. Parker returned a moment later without the student. The student returned later in the class with a broken drumstick that had been turned on a lathe in the school's industrial arts class to make a dowel. The dowel was inserted in a hole in the back of the mark tree and attached to the remains of a high-hat stand to support the mark tree in a playable position. While Mr. Parker was at work on the mark tree his students sat and talked or played fragments of the songs that they would play later in the period. Mr. Parker returned to his desk to complete the attendance.

At 9:00 a.m., Mr. Parker got up from behind his desk and walked to his podium at the front of the class. He talked casually to the students, "How did the pancake breakfast go yesterday?" He had placed a microphone headset over his head; his amplified voice easily dominated the other voices engaged in conversation in the class. He shuffled and arranged the scores on his stand saying, "We're not gonna do *Change the World*." For a moment he could not find the score for one of the pieces that the class had been working on and jokingly accused someone of having stolen it. It appeared as if he was formulating or perhaps reviewing in his mind his lesson plan as he sorted through his music. The class

was to have played a spring concert in less than two weeks and their work was cut out for them.

There were 17 students in this class, 6 males and 11 females. The students sat in four rows. Two flutists and five clarinetists, all female, sat across the first row, to the teacher's left. In the second row sat one alto saxophonist, two tenor saxophonists, and a baritone saxophonist. Only the baritone saxophonist was male; he sat to the far right side of the class, removed from his classmates. In the third row sat a bass guitarist and three trumpets only one of whom was female. In the fourth and final row sat two male percussionists.

Mr. Parker began his class by saying, "Let's warm up today," calling for a Concert F major scale in half notes. The first pitch the class played was incorrect. Though some of the students may have been playing a Concert F, the class as a whole did not. Some of the students looked a little puzzled. Several of the clarinets talked briefly before coming to an agreement that they should be starting on a written G. The baritone saxophone player mouthed the letter "D" to himself.

The class resumed playing the Concert F major scale in half notes. Mr. Parker gave verbal direction, "Same thing in quarter notes . . . tongued." The students complied. Again he directed the students, "Same thing in eighth notes . . . slurred." Mr. Parker had his students play the scale one last time in eighth notes with a staggered start; the woodwinds led the brass instruments by one beat, thereby creating parallel thirds.

After the class had completed its warm-up, it began work on *The Pirates of the Caribbean*. Mr. Parker suggested, "Maybe today we can hack through that triplet part."

He casually observed that one of the students was missing. Apparently the student was involved in preparations for the school's fashion show as opposed to attending class.

The teacher asked his students to begin at measure 183. The figure in the tenor sax part was performed incorrectly and Mr. Parker spent the next several minutes working with the tenor saxophonists trying to sort it out. While he worked with the tenor players the rest of the class either sat, talking quietly amongst themselves or they sat silently engaged in their own thoughts.

Once Mr. Parker had identified the problematic component of the tenor sax figure, he had the students repeat it together and individually in an effort to correct it. He looked around the classroom for the tenor saxophone he played in the class but quickly realized that he had mistakenly sent the instrument for repairs that it did not need. He stated that he was interested in seeing what the repair shop would do to the instrument. He looked in my direction and laughed. Because he could not play the part on a tenor sax, he quickly grabbed his trumpet. He demonstrated the tenor sax figure on trumpet and had the saxophonists individually play the figure back to him. The microphone that was near Mr. Parker's mouth as he played picked up the buzzing of his lips, giving his sound a coarse patina that it would not otherwise have had.

The class resumed playing at measure 200, the teacher commenting, "Good, good." Mr. Parker's singing voice was not trained; he did not pay close attention to the pitch of the notes he sang and only approximated the melodic contour of the lines as he sang them. However, he did pay considerably greater attention to the rhythmic and stylistic accuracy of the passages that he demonstrated.

As the class played, a piece of shelving spontaneously fell behind the piano and the members of the class stopped playing. Mr. Parker joked about the people who lived in the piano and how they seldom appeared.

The class resumed playing once again at measure 200. Mr. Parker asked to hear just the clarinets, trumpets, and flutes in the 2-4 measure. The students started to play and the teacher said almost immediately, "Stop, stop." He then turned to the white board that was behind him, picked up a green marking pen and carefully drew three quarter notes below which he placed staccato marks.

The bass guitarist, who had left the classroom at the beginning of the period, entered with the jury-rigged mark tree stand. Laughing, Mr. Parker asked the student to hold up the stand so that everyone could see it, commenting, "It's not cheap, it's thrifty." He pointedly observed that the school did not have an art class and that the band class was thus serving two purposes.

Mr. Parker then asked the flute, clarinet, percussion and first alto saxophone students to resume at measure 225, commenting that the passage was not too difficult, that it "falls under the fingers." After the students had practiced the figure several times, he called for everyone to resume at measure 225 saying, "225 and let's go on." The class resumed playing but fell apart at the end; some of the students laughed and smiled. A problematic rhythmic figure occurred at the end of the piece. The teacher had the class disregard a notated tie, stating that the figure would be easier to perform without it. Once the figure had been played correctly with the students ignoring the tie, the teacher had his students play the figure a second time with the tie executed as notated.

The teacher then called, "Let's try [measure] 233." As the students played, he commented, "Some people are drifting through the rest." As the students finished the piece he offered encouragement saying, "That's pretty good. We'll come back to this. Let's take out [the piece by] ABBA."

The teacher had his students begin *Dancing Queen* at measure 6 where a problematic rhythmic figure occurred again. Apparently Mr. Parker recognized that if the students were not able to play the figure correctly they would not get past it. The class correctly executed the figure and Mr. Parker called for the beginning, but quickly changed his mind asking the class instead to start at measure 82. The class started as directed but Mr. Parker was not happy with the class's interpretation of the eighth notes and stopped them immediately. He asked for even eighth notes. The class once again resumed playing but Mr. Parker stopped them immediately because of a problem in the drum set part.

Mr. Parker spent the next few moments working with just the percussionists. As he did so, the students once again sat and talked quietly or sat without talking, apparently lost in thought. Jennifer held her trumpet vertically with the bell resting directly on her knee. She gripped the mouthpiece with her left hand and rested her right cheek on her left hand, her head turned towards her left. Jennifer's right hand was visible, her fingers wrapping around and concealing her thumb.

As the rest of the class sat, Mr. Parker called for just the percussionists to play from measure 82. One of the percussionists played drum set while the other sat beside him and played tambourine. The problem appeared to be a missing bass drum note on beat one of a 4-4 measure that followed a 2-4 measure. The student made several

attempts at the figure but could not play it successfully at this time. The teacher commented, "Well Okay. Play whatever you want but just don't stop." The student tried again but was not able to play it as notated. Mr. Parker then asked the percussionists to switch instruments, apparently hoping that the student who had been playing tambourine would be able to play the fill correctly, but to no avail. He asked the student who had initially been playing the drum set to resume his position behind the set, at the same time asking the percussion student who had been playing tambourine to make sure that the mark tree was "ready to go."

After working with the percussionists for several minutes, Mr. Parker had the class play through *Dancing Queen* from the beginning. As the class played through the piece the teacher offered a running commentary, "I hope the piano people don't play that. . . . Do you think that we can play it at this speed? No? . . . We could be louder there, a little slower." As the piece concluded he asked, "Are there any other spots that you'd like to take a look at?" It appeared as if he was attempting to share the responsibility for achieving what was, from the students' perspective, a satisfactory performance.

As the class played, I observed that one of the clarinetists was sitting with her head angled towards her left. This was one of the chief technical problems that I saw with this particular class; their posture was generally sloppy. That sloppiness in posture was evident in the lack of breath support in both the trumpets and clarinets.

As the class played, Mr. Parker appeared concerned with the tempo. The piece slowed down and as it did so he asked the class, "Do you hear what's happening with the tempo?" The piece fell apart and Jennifer, the sole female trumpet student, asked if she was playing measure 51 correctly. Mr. Parker turned his attention to the trumpet part at

this measure and, as he was doing so, the other students sat and talked. Mr. Parker pleaded with them, "Stop, stop, stop." Once he had spent a few moments working on the trumpet part, he asked the entire class to resume playing. "You won't like me for this: bar 18."

The 9:39 a.m. bell rang and the class continued to play. As the students played a transitional passage the flutists' pitch was terrible, the clarinetists' posture was questionable, and the bass was rushed. The teacher commented, "Feels better at that tempo." At measure 45 Mr. Parker conducted with his right hand and snapped the beat in the fingers of his left hand. He stopped his students and asked them to play the passage that they've just worked on again, "not because it was wrong, but because it was right."

As he conducted, Mr. Parker talked first to the drum set player and then to the class as a whole, "Don't slow down. You got it wrong and I don't know why." He sang as he conducted. The clarinetists' posture was bad, their embouchures [the muscles around their mouth, nose and chin used to support the clarinet in the mouth and to produce sound] flaccid. The tone quality and pitch of their upper registers suffered. The first trumpet player sat slouched over, as he always did, resting his left elbow on his left side as he played. As the class played, one of the other trumpet students glanced over his shoulder at the clock on the back wall of the classroom.

The teacher concluded the class's work on *Mamma Mia*, commenting, "We're getting closer." He then asked his students to resume work on *Pirates of the Caribbean*. He called for the tenor saxophones to play the 9th measure alone. They correctly played the passage several times, earning his approval. He then called for the entire class to start at the beginning.

The fourth measure was problematic. There were recurrent rhythm problems in the first trumpet part. The student played the figure correctly during its first appearance in the passage, but was unable to play it correctly during its second appearance. The student said in frustration, "I don't know what I can do." The teacher responded, "Write it in."

At 9:33 a.m. the students appeared tired; the flutists sat and talked while Mr. Parker worked with the trumpets. The entire class resumed at measure 130 but the trumpet players once again fell apart. The teacher stopped the class and got his own trumpet to demonstrate the passage. The class resumed playing at measure 142. At measure 145 the teacher commented, "Tenors, F-sharp, F-sharp. Don't play the wrong notes." The class stopped playing but resumed once again at measure 142.

The bass guitarist and the baritone saxophonist were not musically together. Neither of these students watched the teacher as they played; their attention was focused on the music on the stand in front of them. These students sat on either side of the music room, the baritone saxophonist in particular being physically isolated from the rest of the class.

At measure 160 the teacher commented to one of the percussionists, "Randy, watch me, watch me, you're almost a full beat ahead." The class ended, the students put their instruments away and quickly disappeared.

The Teacher Comments on His Practice

During our second interview when the topic of the implementation of curriculum was raised, Mr. Parker was candid.

> MR. PARKER: Don't think I can remember when I sort of read the curriculum guide. I have no idea whether someone in Grade 11 has to play concert B-flat in

eighth notes at quarter notes equals 88. . . .It's in my yearly plans, and every year I change the date on those. I think I told you my curriculum, especially at the high school level, is driven by the numbers and by the instrumentation.

RESEARCHER: Right, and by the requirements of performance, right?

He suggests that curricular decisions are made on the basis of enrollment, instrumentation, and the expectations of the community with respect to performance. He also described how in the preceding school year, he had his students work with hand chimes as a means of addressing some of those problems.

MR. PARKER: Yeah. . . . last year I had those choir chimes and [the] 10 kids that I had in senior band spent just as much time with those choir chimes as we did performing with these [instruments], . . . because the grade two or two-and-a-half pieces the [Grade] 8, [and Grade] 9 band were doing, these kids would pick up in two classes. And so during the [school] concert, these kids would go in and play with the [Grade] 8s and [Grade] 9s. . . . [Mr. Parker continued on, talking about the lack of sufficient players.]

If I had a low brass section I probably wouldn't know what to do with it. I would probably just stare at them and give them wrong parts, because it's been so long since I've had to go to the bottom of the folder, other than for the percussion pieces.

RESEARCHER: And it seems to me that what you were doing with the hand chimes is a conscious effort to deal with some of the difficulties that you encounter in the classroom, right?

MR. PARKER: M-huh. But the other thing that I wanted to do is to give them something that was theirs. This year these kids, these senior high kids . . . well, they're the cream of the crop. They are the best musicians in the school. And [with the hand chimes] they get to show people that when they do . . . the ABBA piece or when they do the Count Basie and people think, "Geez, that sounds neat, I recognize that,". . . and they didn't have the chance to show people that . . . [when they just played conventional instruments together with] the Grade 8s and Grade 9s . . . kids who've been playing for two years.

RESEARCHER: So that gave them a chance to show a sense of ownership, although [they couldn't show the audience what they could do] . . ., with our band instruments.

MR. PARKER: That we're learning something and we're the best in the school, look what else what we can do. And ding, ding, ding, ding (*Mr. Parker imitates the sound of hand chimes*) and away they go, right? And people talked about it for

> months, "Did you hear those things?" "Yeah, did you?" And the kids get really excited about it. . . .
>
> We continued to talk about the technique employed.
>
> RESEARCHER: Right. And so what happens is each of the students contributes to the creation of this product individually . . . but, there is also the possibility then of, if you've got the kids lined up, or the instruments lined up, that the kids can switch, so that at one point where one kid is essentially playing a bass function . . .
>
> MR. PARKER: Yep.
>
> RESEARCHER: . . . then another kid can go and play the bass function.
>
> MR. PARKER: You know [what] was really neat about it too, a couple of things. One thing that I really liked about it is we almost [went] right back to Grade 5 or Grade 7. We're all unison and they could hear . . . "Well no, you made a mistake right there."
>
> RESEARCHER: Right.
>
> MR. PARKER: "You're no, here look . . . your [note] F, but it's supposed to be there and it wasn't." They got to see what the other kids were playing. And you get away from that when you split them into stuff, right?

Here Mr. Parker referred to the benefits of the class playing together with all of the students playing off of a shared part, rather than each player having an individual part.

Summary of Classroom Practices

Mr. Parker's teaching practices were consistent with those of the other teachers whose classes I observed for this study. The classes generally began with a discussion of some of the ongoing extracurricular activities in which the band was engaged. The tone that Mr. Parker established in his classroom was informal and convivial. If the class took the time to warm up, the warm-up was generally perfunctory, lasting not more than two minutes.

The bulk of the class was spent in the preparation of pieces for public performance. Mr. Parker provided a performance model of the pieces through either singing or playing an instrument. In the classes that I observed, he played trumpet, tenor saxophone, or bass guitar at one time or another. Mr. Parker used the method of successive approximations: the students played some portion of the piece they were working on; he critiqued their performance and provided a performance model if appropriate; and the class repeated that portion of the piece. Using this approach, the quality of the performance generally improved.

At times Mr. Parker worked with a section or specific group of students. While he did this, the other students either sat and talked in small groups or sat quietly by themselves without talking. This alternation between the class as a whole and a smaller group of students appeared problematic but unavoidable. It was problematic because students invariably talked which each other and unavoidable because the problems that were dealt with in this manner were always instrument specific.

Though Mr. Parker spent the bulk of the class teaching from the front of the room, he occasionally moved among the students he taught. The students, with the exception of the percussionists, did not move. Mr. Parker's movement was contingent upon the needs of the students at that time.

In order to broaden the repertoire his band could play, Mr. Parker transcribed musical parts for instruments that were unavailable to him, for instruments that were: he transcribed tuba parts for the bass guitar. This strategy enabled his class to more adequately perform the music in its repertoire.

Mr. Parker identified several issues that impacted his music program. These issues included (a) enrollment, (b) instrumentation, and (c) community performance expectations. Among the strategies that he employed to address the difficulty of implementing the curriculum (which he otherwise largely ignored) was the use of an alternate instrumentation: the hand chimes. Mr. Parker's use of the hand chimes in his senior high Instrumental Music class recognized both the students' sense of ownership, and improvements in his students' ability to recognize what other students in the ensemble were doing.

Pedagogical Practice in the Louisville School Instrumental Music Program

A Sample Class

The class described here is Instrumental Music 10-20-30 on Tuesday, March 01, 2005 from 1:50 p.m. to 3:14 p.m. During this period all five of the students who were enrolled in the class were in attendance: Len, Tim, Doug, Cathy, and Karen. Len, a pianist who stood about 1.7 meters in height, was of medium build. He wore his hair somewhat longer than the other male students in the school possibly to conceal a serious complexion problem. He often dressed in a Hawaiian shirt, blue with white flowers and green foliage, jeans, in good condition, white socks, and hiking boots. Len often played balanced on the front edge of his chair, which he tipped backwards, his face towards the floor, with just one hand. He often played while the teacher talked. On several occasions I recognized a phrase from a Doobie Brothers' song and fragments from a sonata by Mozart. Mr. Stuart's assessment of Len was that he was quite talented, but when he was asked to demonstrate the *Mexican Hat Song* on several occasions he always played a flat

seven as opposed to the correct natural seven. On one occasion Len made a comment about how this song is performed in Mexico, suggesting that he may have been there.

Len constantly denigrated the people around him; he was often flippant and rude in conversation. His behavior suggested that he thought himself superior to his classmates. He was correct only in terms of level of musicianship.

Tim most often sat with his back to me, his face hidden by a music stand. In many ways, he seemed like a shorter-haired, heavier version of Len. His clothes never fit particularly well. His pants were baggy and hung about his waist. On one occasion Tim asked Mr. Stuart what eighth notes were; the question was simply ignored. Though it was possible that Mr. Stuart did not hear him, it was also possible that Mr. Stuart thought that the question was asked facetiously. During our private conversations before and after class Mr. Stuart observed several times that Tim was having problems at home, arguing that the difficulties of his home life accounted for the inconsistencies in his efforts. He suspected that Tim would probably drop out of music before the end of the term. On more than one occasion as Tim walked by me, he glanced in my direction as if to ask, "Do you see what's going on?"

The bass player, Doug, stood about 1.6 meters. He was heavy set with a round, youngish-looking face and dyed blond hair. He often wore a black hooded sweatshirt with a Slipknot logo, jeans, and work boots. Doug usually appeared to be somewhat diffident in class. He had played the bass for only two or three months. According to Mr. Stuart, who was apparently unaware that Doug had been taking private bass lessons, he had made significant progress in this period. When Mr. Stuart commented on an upcoming playing test, Doug expressed concern about the method of evaluation. Mr.

Stuart reassured him that though there were specific criteria for the course, he would take Doug's relative inexperience and progress into account when he evaluated him.

Cathy, who played flute, was about 1.5 meters in height with longish curly hair, braces, and glasses. She often wore a pink T-shirt with the words Future Angel printed across the front, embroidered jeans, and black leather shoes with thick heels and platform soles similar to shoes worn in the 1970s. Cathy almost always sat several feet away from the other members of her class, with her legs crossed and her flute held at an angle. Her playing was inaudible most of the time. Though reserved, she was more than capable of asserting herself. She correeted Mr. Stuart on more than one occasion and was almost insolent at times; she almost always told Mr. Stuart that she was leaving the class rather than asking for his permission to leave. Cathy spent at least some time during each period reading. When reading she effectively disengaged herself from the other students in the class. When Len proclaimed, in reference to Tim, "I hate guys with fat girl friends," Cathy did not react. It is impossible to know if she condoned the remark, had ignored it, or had not heard it.

Karen stood about 1.6 meters, was overweight, and yet never appeared to be self-conscious. She always wore glasses and her dyed blond hair was pulled back in a short ponytail. Frequently she wore a dusky green T-shirt layered over a black T-shirt and light green cotton pants that extend to her mid-calf. At times she donned a blue hooded sweatshirt. The hood went on and off her head several times each class. Karen almost always spent a part of each class talking about her job at the local Dairy Queen. She played drums.

As the period began, Len asked to be excused from the class for the whole period; Mr. Stuart refused, explaining that it would be inappropriate. Tim entered the class and he, too, asked if he could be excused. With two of five students suggesting that they should be excused because they had more pressing work to attend to, the teacher immediately appeared to be on the defensive. Tim did leave the classroom but only for a moment.

Before they started to play, Cathy's birthday was brought to the class' attention. Mr. Stuart wished her a happy birthday and asked almost incredulously if it was, in fact, her 17th birthday. Cathy appeared to be younger than her age would suggest. She was obsessed with the teen actor, Daniel Radcliffe, and anything that had to do with character of Harry Potter. When she practiced by herself, she played from a Harry Potter songbook.

As the students moved equipment into place in preparation for the day's class, Len dropped an amp on his foot. He was wearing open-toed sandals and was amazed that he had not broken a toenail. He insisted that everyone in the class take a look at his foot; I did not.

Once the students were seated and ready to play, Mr. Stuart reminded them of the playing test that was scheduled for Thursday, March 10th. As he was talking to the class Karen, the percussionist, left the class. She had misplaced her purse and headed back to the classroom she had just left, in order to find it. While she was out of the class, Tim returned. Mr. Stuart continued saying: "Today we're gonna pick up right where we left off last time." Unable to locate her purse, Karen returned to the class; though quite upset at the time, she later found it in her book bag.

The students played for several moments while Mr. Stuart talked. After he had gained their attention, he explained what the students could expect on the playing test. Though initially he said that the test would be between numbers 40 and 60 in the *Standard of Excellence: Book 1*, he thought for a moment and decided to be more precise; the test would be numbers 53 and 61. One of the students pointed out that number 61 is not between numbers 40 and 60. The student turned and looked back at me with an expression of exasperation on his face.

The class began by playing number 56 from *The Standard of Excellence: Book 1* as a warm-up. Mr. Stuart tried to play the trumpet with his students but one of his instrument's valves was stuck. As the class attempted to play the exercise without him Mr. Stuart removed the valves and checked to see that they were oriented properly in the valve casings. Replacing the valves, he asked Len to play a C on the piano. Intent upon tuning his own instrument, Mr. Stuart was momentarily distracted by Doug's bass guitar, which was badly out of tune. He tuned the bass without the aid of an electronic tuner, taking the pitch from the piano. Turning his attention back to his own trumpet, Mr. Stuart then asked for Len to play a D. He played his trumpet once again but the D was not the tuning-note he sought. Mr. Stuart then asked for a B-flat from the keyboard and found the note for which he had been searching on his trumpet.

Cathy, the flutist, had not brought her instrument to class; it was not working properly. She asked permission to use a flute that the school had recently purchased but Mr. Stuart initially refused, explaining that he had not yet recorded the instrument's serial number. After reconsidering his decision, he gave Cathy the flute to use for the period,

telling her that she could not take the instrument home because a student who was enrolled in another class used it.

Mr. Stuart began the class again counting "1, 2, 3, 4, 1, 2, warm, up, soft"; the class members started to play number 56. After his students had completed the exercise Mr. Stuart quickly instructed them to go to number 62 in their method book and to play just the first four measures. The class played the passage three times. Karen, the percussionist, was having difficulty maintaining a steady pulse. Mr. Stuart tried to demonstrate the snare drum part for her, but the rest of the class played during the demonstration.

Mr. Stuart next had the class move on to number 74 in the method book. Though the class had played this exercise before, Mr. Stuart reviewed the function of the natural sign. Once again he asked for the first four measures only. Len, the most accomplished student in the class at the time, appeared to have difficulty reading the exercise. The class then proceeded to play the *Mexican Hat Dance*. Though Mr. Stuart had stated at the beginning of the period that the class was going to pick up from where they were during the preceding period, by this point they had not played anything that had not been played in the previous class.

As in those previous classes, Mr. Stuart observed that the music that the students were playing was used to teach accent signs and first and second endings. Notwithstanding one of the song's pedagogical purposes (which is to teach first and second endings), Mr. Stuart had his students play the piece as if it was being played the second time only. He first demonstrated what he wanted the students to play and then he

had them play with him as he played it a second time. As in previous classes, Len played a flat seven.

Mr. Stuart next had the students play *Frere Jacques.* Though this song is a round, he did not have the students play it in that way. After they had played through it together he simply went on to the next piece: *Saw Mill Creek,* a solo with accompaniment. Before they began work on the piece, Mr. Stuart asked Karen to click her sticks together instead of playing the rim shots that were notated in her part. He apparently believed that clicking the sticks would be technically easier for Karen to perform correctly. Doug attempted to play the solo line on the bass; Mr. Stuart asked him to try again, "nice and slow." Len, the pianist, played wrong notes in the introduction. The timing was inconsistent and the group quickly fell apart. In other words, the playing of the piece became so disordered that the playing could not continue. Karen, the percussionist, played three quarter notes instead of the single-quarter-note-pair-of-eighth-note pattern that I could clearly see in her part.

Tim was having some difficulty playing. Mr. Stuart sat down beside him and they played the part together. As he worked with Tim, Karen, and Cathy talked and Len played. After he spent a moment working with Tim, Mr. Stuart had the class attempt to play the piece together. Again Karen had problems with timing; she played in three, whereas the piece was in four. Mr. Stuart looked towards me as if to say, "Where do I begin?" and gave his the students a two minute break. They disappeared immediately but returned within several minutes.

The class resumed with the students turning to work on *Montego Bay*. Though they both searched, neither Len nor Mr. Stuart could find *Montego Bay* in the piano book; as it turned out there was no piano part in the method book.

Karen had returned to the classroom with candy and passed some to Cathy. She tried to play and eat at the same time, was unable to do so and dropped some of the candy on the floor. Cathy ate the candy that Karen had given her as she played the flute. Because he had no part, Len took a break. Tim stopped playing altogether. Len talked to Doug as Doug continued to play. The teacher continued to conduct, saying that if the class had a clarinet section they would be playing at this point in the piece. He counted through the rests that were otherwise empty. Once again the piece fell apart.

Tim asked if the class could start again from measure 24, but was ignored. Doug, the bassist, played A-naturals instead of the A-flats that were clearly notated. The teacher called on Len to play some chords on the piano while the rest of the students played; he did. Unfortunately he had no idea of the appropriate chord structure to accompany the piece. Karen continued to try to eat and play. Doug had by this time lost his concentration completely; he sat and played randomly, staring at his music and muttering to himself as he did so.

The class put their instruments away at 2:43 p.m. Tim, who had asked at the beginning of the period to leave early, left the room. Len moved his amp back to the spot he had retrieved it from when he first entered the classroom.

For the remainder of the period Mr. Stuart attempted to have the students work independently. He told Cathy that she could play from her Harry Potter songbook. Doug did not feel like playing and put his bass in its case. Len drifted over to the glockenspiel

and started playing it. Cathy and Karen talked. After several minutes in which little appeared to be accomplished Mr. Stuart asked his students for their assistance in cleaning the room because a band festival, in which this band class was not participating, had been scheduled to take place in the school over the following weekend. Doug wanted to use the computer, but the teacher had not yet taken attendance. Len asked if he could go to the common area and was refused permission to leave. He sat down and started to work on his homework. Doug helped to put music stands away. The students drifted out of the classroom and the period ended.

The Teacher Comments on His Practice

Gathering information on Mr. Stuart's practices was challenging. Unlike other teacher interviews which were conducted in one consolidated block, this one was conducted over two consecutive days in the office of the storage company where he worked to augment his income from teaching. The interview was repeatedly interrupted by phone calls or other business-related activity.

Mr. Stuart stated that the curriculum itself was effective and valid; he appealed to the example of Mr. Smith's program in Davisville of which he had firsthand knowledge, as evidence of the soundness of the curriculum. He believed that the success of a program was contingent on the right kind of person, appealing to the notion of a charismatic teacher:

> RESEARCHER: And what I'm trying to get at is, is the curriculum appropriate in some ways?
>
> MR. STUART: Oh, I feel it is. The curriculum, there's nothing wrong with the curriculum. I mean you go over to Davisville and see Mr. Smith's outfit over there. There's no complaint with that. . . .

> RESEARCHER: And that's the problem. The problem is that Mr. Smith's situation is statistically anomalous. He's operating about 50 standard deviations above the norm in terms of his enrollment. . . .
>
> MR. STUART: But if you get the right kind of person, I've seen it before, I've seen it up north. I've seen band programs in . . . [British Columbia] where the town is small and the school is small but darn it, 90 percent of the kids in the school play in the band.

In other words, Mr. Stuart believed that the right person can defy the enrollment odds by force of personality.

Mr. Stuart was also aware that competition for students within the school from optional courses other than music had a negative impact on the music program:

> RESEARCHER: You also have to look at the other options that are being offered. And you have to look across the board. . . .
>
> MR. STUART: Oh . . . options will kill ya. . . . Unless the teacher can somehow win the students with the students. You've got to be able to . . win the battle of the options. Somebody comes along with Outdoor Ed and says, "Hey we're gonna have two weeks of hockey playing, and two weeks of curling, two weeks of snowshoeing, two weeks of skiing down a hill, two weeks of swimming." How do you think you're gonna [beat that]. . . .
>
> RESEARCHER: Well, I mean typically what happens at the junior high level, . . . you have four or five options running simultaneously and what happens is the students have prior choices . . . and the classes are simply capped. I mean, . . . if you've got . . . 120 kids in the school, you can't have 80 of them in Outdoor Ed .

In other words, other course offerings and timetabling had an impact on enrollment in the music program. Mr. Stuart later stated that the way to counter this impact (especially related to competing options) was through marketing:

> MR. STUART: Getting back to it, we have to sell ourselves to the point of ridiculousness with the competition of extra options, which are our biggest concern. Once you get it up and running and people see that band is a success . . . and band gets to play, and band gets to go on road trips and band gets to go on concerts . . . but you've got to get it to that point.

RESEARCHER: And that's what I'm trying to get at. What are the strategies that you think that might work?

MR. STUART: PR [public relations]. You've got to . . . treat them to parties, band parties here and there. Maybe take them to the water park, give them a carrot, take them out to outings and stuff like that. You want to be able to . . . get enough to have a band . . . [or] you're not going to get to first base.

Mr. Stuart offered an assessment about classes with low enrollment: specifically, that a class with low enrollment and with beginning students cannot be considered to be a high school band program. While he agreed that small schools might have problems getting sufficient enrollment, he focused more on the quality of the students enrolled:

RESEARCHER: So, what I'm trying to get at is that, even . . . [in a] school with a population at the high school level of 300 kids, what you would expect is about 12 students . . . somewhere between probably 10 and 14, . . . 99 out of 100 times. The problem is that if you're trying to build a program . . . how big does the program need to be before it becomes viable?

MR. STUART: Yeah, that is one of the issues. The other issue is the quality of the student, 'cause that school is a dumping ground. Let's face it.

The conversation quickly turned to his assessment of the strengths and weaknesses of particular students:

RESEARCHER: So one of the things that we didn't talk about very much, that I did want to talk about specifically, was implementation of curriculum.

MR. STUART: In this particular case I just had to go with a very basic curriculum because nobody had any knowledge whatsoever. One out of every two students knew a little bit about music, some of them had such a low level. . . . Doug for example: He has come so far from somebody that didn't know a whole note from a dump truck. Cathy knew a little bit, but Cathy gets so nervous when she's playing she just trembles and shakes. . . . Cathy writes. She's shown me some of the stuff she's writing; she has a real imagination. Some day we're gonna watching her drive a limousine, I'll tell ya. . . .

He continued to focus on student quality, believing it to be fundamental to program success:

RESEARCHER: It may be a dumping ground, but if you've got 14 kids signed up for band . . . what . . . strategies that you are aware of, or that you can think of, . . . would allow you to work effectively . . . with 14 students?

MR. STUART: Yeah, you could have a good band with 14 students. But you have to have students that wanna learn, not people that are dumped there because they think art is too much work.

Mr. Stuart attempted to account for some of the obstacles that he encountered in his own practice through an appeal to deficiencies in the teaching practice of others. He also observed that the difficulties he encountered in the classroom were endemic, that they could be encountered in any senior high, junior high, and/or elementary school music class, regardless of size. And he provided an intriguing example of a teacher whom he had observed that held up large letters in sequence in order to have his or her students play a melody, because they were so deficient in music reading skills.

When asked specifically about the implementation of the curriculum in situations that are similar to the one in which he was teaching, Mr. Stuart seemed to understand the question to be about the situation at Louisville School specifically. He advanced a précis of his strategy for establishing a band program here:

RESEARCHER: So the course offerings within the school have an impact on how many people are going to show up in the band class, right? But given that you've got five or six kids, how do you go about solving that problem?

MR. STUART: Oh, not, next year . . . I already told them not to have a senior band next year. For one year we're not going to have senior band. . . . There's no players 'cause there's no Grade 9 band. . . . and what's left here, there's no sense in having a senior band. We're going to put the emphasis on band 7, 8, and 9 this year. And I asked him [that is, the principal] to give me something else to teach, social studies or something . . . and we'll just build it from the bottom. And then we'll have a solid band 7, a solid band 8, 9.

RESEARCHER: Right.

MR. STUART: And after that next year, we're going to have a good band eight, a really good band seven. And we're gonna have a nine and a ten.

RESEARCHER: So you build, that's part of the strategy.

MR. STUART: That's the strategy, and I've started a band program at N . . . [an elementary school in the same Roman Catholic school district]. Those guys started eight weeks [ago]; well you should hear them now.

Eventually we returned to the question of implementation:

RESEARCHER: What I'm hearing you say is that at this point, the curriculum is problematic . . . relative to the practice in the classroom right now. At the same time it's still something that you want to build towards, right? And the plan is to build from the bottom up.

MR. STUART: Yep. That's the only way to save that program is to build it from the bottom up.

RESEARCHER: Okay. How do you think that attrition will impact the school?

MR. STUART: Attrition?

RESEARCHER: Attrition.

MR. STUART: I'm basing my expectation on my brother's and my profile in the community. . . . Because we were performers and entertainers for many years in this area, and we're really well liked by many people. And around town we know many, many, many people around town . . . just on personality and contacts over the years. Those people that know that I'm teaching, they know I'm good at music and they will bring their kids to [the school] for that.

Mr. Stuart had returned to the concept of the charismatic leader. His comments are interesting because they are consistent with Bourdieu's theory of practice to the extent that they recognize the influence of social capital on practice. It appears that Mr. Stuart's future practice is predicated on his belief that, once it becomes public knowledge that he is teaching at Louisville School, the social capital that he has acquired over time as a musician in the community will assist him in the establishment and maintenance of a band program at the school.

At two other points in the discussion, he returned to his ideas of what it takes to build a music program:

> MR. STUART: . . . In order for it to work [i.e., to build a successful music program] you've got to have a teacher with a good personality and lots of energy to encourage people, and work them into the band program. You've got to have the right literature and band instrumentation. You have to have the right, like the feeder system. You have to have a good budget and . . . you've got to have the kids to mold. . . . It can be done. . . . It can be doing five different jobs [i.e., roles]. . . . Sometimes I wonder why anybody'd want to do it. . . . .
>
> I think in summation . . . the success of this program rests mainly on the feeder system supplying the bodies into the chairs, [players] that know a little bit about the instrument. They're not going into the band director to take it, lead it, develop the support network . . . band parents . . . [need to] put in the administration of it . . . and build it from there. It won't be an easy process; it can be done. One of the key things I see as a detriment to the success of the band program is students having choices of so many different options. And some of these options are favored more by parents who encourage students to take it [because] . . . it's less expensive than paying [for] the band instrument. For sure I have students right now [whose] . . . parents have taken their instrument back to the [music store] because they don't want to pay another month's rent; and I still have another week or two of classes.

Summary of Classroom Practices

Of the four programs in this study, the one in Louisville was by far the most problematic. The small number of students enrolled in the class precluded the possibility of attempting any of the standard literature for wind ensemble. When the class worked together, Mr. Stuart chose to focus his efforts on material from *The Standard of Excellence, Book 1*; he did not attempt to address any of the literature for wind-percussion ensemble at all. One of the students in his class confided to me a certain frustration with this practice; from this student's perspective the class never did anything.

When the class did not work together, Mr. Stuart had his students work on material selected in consultation with them, to address their individual playing

deficiencies. He adhered to this approach during the entire period of observation. This decision appeared to be pedagogically sound because, with one exception, the students were effectively beginners. Moreover, Mr. Stuart moved about the class from one student to another as they played, contingent upon the needs of the student at the time.

More often than not, Mr. Stuart played trumpet with his students during those portions of the classes when the students were playing as a group, providing a model performance for his students to emulate. He also played snare drum, bass guitar, and guitar at various times during the classes that I observed. Mr. Stuart was an accomplished guitarist. When he played guitar, he provided a competent and at times sophisticated model for his students to emulate. However, when he chose to model using an instrument on which he was not technically competent, it created problems. At times he was clearly more concerned with technical difficulties that he himself was encountering, than with the technical difficulties of his students.

Mr. Stuart identified several factors that influenced his view of the implementation of curriculum. These included (a) the nature of the teacher, emphasizing the importance of charisma; (b) timetabling constraints; (c) optional course offerings that compete for students; (d) the quality of the students, including their previous music education; and (e) enrollment, including the need to interest students in enrolling and the need to provide non-musical incentives for them to do so. His strategies focused on addressing the issues related to enrollment: (a) marketing the program through public relations; (b) establishing a strong feeder system; (c) building the band from the bottom up; and d) working harder, by having the teacher assume the many roles required to implement these other strategies.

Pedagogical Practice in the Davisville School Instrumental Music Program

Overview

Students who are enrolled in Instrumental Music 10, 20, or 30 in Davisville School are required to participate in two different kinds of classes: classes for the ensemble as a whole, and sectional rehearsals. Because the teacher's practice differs in each kind of class, I describe one of each of these classes in detail. The students also have the option of participating in a stage band and/or a small combo. I describe only a small combo rehearsal in detail for two reasons. First, the stage band operates in much the same way as the concert band; describing practice with respect to the stage band would be redundant. Second, the small combo is illustrative of a small ensemble that might be appropriate for senior high schools with low enrollment in Instrumental Music, so a description of its rehearsal is more relevant to this study. Given that there were differences in the organization and function of the music classes at the Davisville School that distinguished it from the other schools in the study I describe three of its music classes in detail: Instrumental Music 10-20-30 or full band class, an Instrumental Music 20 class of brass instruments only, and a senior combo class.

A Sample Class

The class described here is Instrumental Music 10-20-30 and took place on Tuesday, May 2, 2005 from 11:25 a.m. until noon. About 20 students sat, eating their lunch in the music room before the class began. Two of them had written a song to be used at the graduation ceremonies later in the year. One of those students, who had played trumpet in the stage band rehearsal earlier that day, sat playing the keyboards. Mr.

Smith, the teacher, asked those students who were eating to refrain from talking while a recording of the song was made for rehearsal purposes. The students sat quietly while the keyboardist played, applauding at the end. The composer seemed gratified.

As the beginning of the class neared, more students entered the classroom. In all 70 students attended this class. As the students got their instruments and music from the storage space, the teacher wrote the running order of the rehearsal on the board: scales in and B-flat, E-flat, F; and the pieces, *Jurassic Park*, As *Summer Was Just Beginning*, and *Toccata for Band.*

The student who had played lead alto in the stage band rehearsal earlier in the day was now playing first clarinet. The teacher told the class that the three scales on the board were "the three scales that we need for Jurassic Park." The class began playing 15 minutes after it was scheduled to start. He told them that they were working on *Jurassic Park* because they needed material to play on their upcoming trip to Banff saying, "Read carefully, we don't have time to talk through it." Two minutes later, five students walked into the class. The teacher glanced at them but did not comment.

Mr. Smith had his students play through those passages in which they made mistakes, without correcting them. This was the first time the students had attempted the piece. Usually, like other teachers whom I've observed, Mr. Smith used a method of successive approximations: Each time a piece or a section of a piece was played it was immediately critiqued, the defects in performance pointed out, and played again. However, on this particular occasion Mr. Smith abandoned this method.

The teacher asked the tenor saxophones to play the cues they had written in their parts. This is noteworthy because there were sufficient players in the ensemble that all of

the parts could be played on the correct instruments. Yet there were deficiencies in the instrumentation of this ensemble because there were no oboes or bassoons and only one French horn. Following the class Mr. Smith explained that in his judgment a poor oboist could significantly impact the band's performance and that it was much easier to conceal a poor clarinet tone. Mr. Smith actively discourages students from playing oboe.

This portion of the rehearsal was in a first sight-reading of this material, the piece having been handed out at the beginning of the class. The distribution of materials accounted for the late start of the class. All of the parts of music for the pieces were placed in sectional folders; the section leaders were to hand out the music that had been placed in the folder. After the piece was played, the section leaders collected the music, placed it in the folder in which it had been handed out, and returned it to the teacher.

Many of the students did not play as the band sight-read the piece. They sat, watched, listened, and played those passages that they could. Some students, especially in the third row of the clarinet section, faked the fast scale passages.

After the piece was completed there was some discussion about whether or not the students wished to play it on the upcoming band trip. As with the other bands that I observed for this study, there was a process of negotiation between the teacher and the students. It appeared as if the teacher did not want to invest his time on music in which the students had no interest.

The class next turned to *As Summer Was Just Beginning*. This piece was being prepared for performance at an upcoming music festival. The teacher began by telling the students to pretend that they were at the festival. He asked for concert rest; most of the students sat with their instruments resting on their thighs as if they were ready to play.

Many of the students continued to talk; a trumpet player wore small earphones presumably to allow her to listen to music while she tried to play.

The bass clarinetists sat with their legs crossed. One of the flute players made a brief notation on her part with a pencil. As the students began to play the teacher apparently heard something that was problematic in the flute and clarinet parts; he had the band continue to play through the passage. There was a pitch problem in the low brass. The flute players sat with their flutes at an angle of about 15 degrees below the horizontal. The teacher asked the trumpets to raise their bells.

Following the last chord of the piece the teacher said, "Good posture means good tuning." He was not pleased with the release of the final note; he wanted a staggered release of sound, with the basses releasing after everyone else. He briefly explained what he wanted to hear and the band played the final chord, releasing in the manner described to them.

The teacher next called for *Toccata for Band*. He was clearly in performance preparation mode and wanted to make sure that the adjudicators would see a stylistically acceptable start to his beat pattern. He asked the students to watch him as he tapped the tempo on his chest with the fingertips of his left hand. As he began to conduct he said, "One, two, and here we go."

One of the trombone players searched for the right pitch, a trumpet player yawned, and a flute player wiped her eye. The cymbal player's technique was questionable. While he should have held the heaviest of the matched pair of cymbals still, in his left hand at an angle of about 15 degrees from the horizontal and crashed the lighter of the matched pair, held in his right hand, into it, he instead held the cymbals nearly

vertical, moving them towards each other much like a mechanical cymbal-playing monkey. One of the third clarinets continued to fake it, watching me as I watched her. The bell rang. The students quickly put their instruments away and disappeared.

A Sample Sectional

This class was Music 20, for brass instruments only, and took place on Tuesday, March 1, 2005 from 9:46 a.m. until 10:28 a.m. Six students attended this class: two female trumpet players and four trombonists, one of whom was female. They sat in a row with the two trumpet students to the right of the trombonists. The single female trombonist sat at the far left side of the row.

Before the class began, the teacher sat between the trumpet and trombone students and warmed up on his mouthpiece. Once he was prepared to have the class begin, he called for an F major scale. One of the male trombonists told a story about drinking too much; the teacher commented only briefly interrupting the flow of the class. As the class played the scale, one of the trumpet players had pitch problems while the other had mechanical problems with her instrument. The teacher stopped to make sure that the student's instrument was working properly; he disassembled a valve and inspected it visually. He also asked the trumpet player whose instrument appeared to be working correctly about the condition of the third valve slide.

It appeared as if the student who was having pitch problems did not yet have the appropriate technique to play to the written high G. The teacher directed the student to drop the octave when she got to high D (i.e., fourth line D). Using his trumpet, the teacher demonstrated how to do this, as the class once again played the F major scale.

The student still encountered difficulties shifting from high C (i.e., third space C) down a minor seventh to low D. The student's inability to play the upper notes was problematic; though she knew the correct fingerings for these notes it was not clear whether or not she could audiate the note shift correctly.

As the teacher worked with the trumpet players the trombonists sat and talked. One student, a male, hit another, a female. She pleaded "M…, please stop it." The tone of her voice expressed exasperation and annoyance, but she did not appear in anyway to be either threatened or hurt.

Once Mr. Smith had finished his work with the individual trumpet student, the class played the F major scale in quarters and eighths, its relative minor in halves, quarters, and eighths and ended with a D minor arpeggio. The teacher then called for *As Summer Was Just Beginning*. Before the class began to play the piece there was some discussion about the lacquer finish on brass instruments. One of the students asked if there are going to be any more in the series of spaghetti suppers that were being held by the band's parent group for the purposes of fundraising.

As the class played, the second trumpet player appeared to be unsure of her part. The teacher stopped the class and demonstrated it for her; both the student and the teacher then played the second trumpet part as the section as a whole rehearsed the passage. The student made a number of mistakes but the teacher simply played through them. He did not take the time to correct the student, apparently assuming that the model that he provided to the student was adequate to the task of providing a corrective.

As the trombonists played the student who was arguably the best player in the trombone section sat with his heels up against the legs of the chair in which he sat. He leaned forward resting his elbows on his upper thighs as he played.

After the class had completed its work on *As Summer Was Just Beginning*, the teacher called for *Bandology*. As was his usual practice, Mr. Smith played trumpet with the students as they played. He paused only once to look at one of the trumpet students and advise her to use both hands, suggesting that she needed lots of air for the high notes.

As the class once again began playing, the trombonist whose posture I noted above sucked on a sucker. The teacher commented on the sucker, asking the student to put it away, but was ignored. While the teacher worked with the trumpet players on their parts, the trombonists sat and talked. One of the female trumpet players quit playing, stating that she was too tired.

Throughout the next portion of the class the teacher switched between playing trumpet and playing trombone as the need arose. The trombonists were having some difficulty with a chromatic triplet passage. The teacher had them play slowly, one note at a time, tapping his foot audibly as they played. As the teacher worked with the trombonists, the trumpet players sat and looked at cartoons; one of the trumpet players offered lip gloss to the other. Frequently Mr. Smith played trumpet and conducted simultaneously. He briefly demonstrated a fast rhythmic passage in the trumpet part that required considerable tonguing technique. As the class ended its work on this selection the teacher used his trombone and alternated between the trumpet and the trombone parts.

The class next turned to the final piece for that day: *Toccata for Band*. Before the class began to work on this piece there was some discussion about the pieces that the

band might play at an upcoming performance. There was also some discussion about the quality of different arrangements of theme music from various movies that the students know: *Aladdin*, *The Lord of the Rings*, and *Lion King*.

As the class worked on the *Toccata* one of the trombonists squirmed in his chair, his pitch fluctuating. One of the trumpet players played with the pad of her finger on the valve key as opposed to her finger tip. This resulted in the first joint of her finger being bent outward, away from the palm of the hand.

The teacher simultaneously sang and conducted. He advised the students not to over-blow a section marked triple forte. The class ended abruptly and the students left without discussion.

A Sample Senior Combo

This class took place on Friday, February from 11:25 a.m. until 12:00 p.m. There were eight students, three males and five females. A small group of them sat, ate their lunch, and talked quietly among themselves in the music room before the class began. Mr. Smith sat at his desk and talked to one of the male students.

The instrumentation of the group included one tenor saxophone, two trumpets, one trombone, two keyboards, one auxiliary percussion, and one drum set; the teacher played one of the trumpets. One of the keyboard instruments was assigned to a piano part while the other played a bass part. Because the bass line and the piano parts were assigned to specific instruments, the keyboardists were required to change instruments when they switched parts. The four wind players stood in front of the keyboard and percussion instruments, with their backs towards the other players. The auxiliary

percussion was placed between the two keyboards with the instrumentalist to the percussionist's right playing the piano part and the instrumentalist to the percussionist's left playing the bass line. The drum set was placed behind the auxiliary percussion and keyboards.

The class began without much fanfare. There was no extended warm-up. All of the pieces played during this class were rehearsed in preparation for an upcoming festival performance. These pieces, *Preacher, Blue Bossa,* and *Mercy, Mercy, Mercy*, were all arranged by Frank Mantooth. [Mantooth writes arrangement for the voices within a group, rather than for particular instruments; such arrangements are more easily adapted to situations where the distribution of instrumentation deviates from the conventional standard.]

Each of the students in the front line took turns soloing after the melody was played. Mr. Smith explained to the trumpet player that he should improvise around the notes G, B-flat, and F. On the second tune, the keyboard players switched instruments and function. The student playing keyboard bass could not initially find her music; Mr. Smith had a copy at hand and was prepared to give it to her but she found her own copy after searching through her folder.

Once again the melody was played twice and solos proceeded down the front line of wind players. Neither the set player nor the percussionist soloed. The student playing keyboard bass played a notated bass line as opposed to an improvised bass line. Mr. Smith reviewed the G blues scale a second time, this time for the benefit of the tenor saxophone player.

Before the class played *Mercy, Mercy, Mercy* the keyboard players once again switched instruments, as did the set player and the percussionist. Because the class was almost over by this point, there was no time for solos.

This class was very brief. Though it was scheduled for 35 minutes it seemed shorter, in part because the teacher was interrupted by a phone call at the beginning of the class.

The Teacher Comments on His Practice

Mr. Smith referred to his orientation towards curricular objectives, using examples of his practice with respect to scales:

> RESEARCHER: So you're very conscious about making sure that the curricular objectives are met.
>
> MR. SMITH: Well I try and refer to it from time to time, and make sure I've got a little bit of ear straining [a parody of the term, ear training] kind of thing. I do some call and response [a basic technique similar to playing the role of an echo]. I try and get as many major and minor scales into these guys as I can. I mean they've got to see some reason for doing the scales; like I said this is the grammar of music . . . it's like putting grammar in English class. You can't string together a sentence unless you do some vocabulary.
>
> RESEARCHER: When you're playing a song that has three key changes you played a . . .
>
> MR. SMITH: Yeah, played the three keys. But not all the time. Sometimes when I['m] first reading a piece for the first time I'll say "Okay this piece is you know built on B, B flat, E flat, A flat and C. And so we're gonna run each of those scales; quarters first, eighths second time, arpeggio on the end." And so that's what I'll do initially when we're first looking at the piece.

Mr. Smith compared his teaching style to that of a bus driver. However, I challenged him that he behaved more like a co-player:

RESEARCHER: . . . You're working with three, different sized ensembles and it seems to me that you have three different strategies for working with them, essentially. That is to say, when you're working with the large group because all the parts are covered and because of the time constraints and everything, essentially, you sit at the . . .

MR. SMITH: Yeah, I'm the bus driver.

RESEARCHER: You're the bus driver.

MR. SMITH: They're the passengers, yeah.

RESEARCHER: That's right. And again what interests me is that you're not so much a conductor as a co-player.

MR. SMITH: M-huh.

RESEARCHER: You know that in fact you lead the band [while standing] . . . behind the horn. Is that . . . a fair and accurate description?

MR. SMITH: Yeah I hardly ever use a baton because I need to have a pencil so I can scribble things down as we go. . . . when I get to the end of the piece, 'cause sometimes I just don't want to stop for one thing that I can fix after we run the piece. Sometimes when I stop and other times if I need to run the piece, I'll just circle a note or a rhythm or key change or whatever and get back to it. So I very seldom use a baton. I don't know, last week I used it a couple of times and this next week I'll use [it] every day.

RESEARCHER: And when you're using the baton it's really just to familiarize the students with the fact that you're going to be using the baton.

MR. SMITH: Yep. And me, myself. Because now I'll be doing time here and I'll be cueing and cutting off and dynamics and so I want to make sure that I've got the right feel again for . . . 'cause it's two things: teacher and conductor. I'm a teacher up until the end of this week, next week I'm a conductor. And so we need to get to do that program 'cause I need to hold together until I'm . . . I've got to make sure I do it. . . .

He further elaborated on his strategy with respect to modeling:

RESEARCHER: That in fact what you do is . . . if you're working with the woodwinds you model the clarinet [part] on trumpet.

MR. SMITH: Yep.

RESEARCHER: And then you both, [stand] behind and model the clarinet part or model the alto sax part on trumpet.

MR. SMITH: M-huh.

RESEARCHER: And work through that way. And it's a really conscious thought-through strategy.

MR. SMITH: Yep. It's a circular thing, I always make sure I work from that end, you get to measure 25, 24 . . . go back. . .

RESEARCHER: When you're working in the section you're also relying on the fact that the kids have an understanding of how their part works within the larger. . .

MR. SMITH: M-huh. 'Cause then I tell 'em too, I'm not sure if I told them that one when I do get around, but I said, "The object of the rehearsal is not for you to know . . . I know you know your part, but you don't know his part."

RESEARCHER: Right.

MR. SMITH: As a tuba player, you don't know the tuba part yet . . . you need to hear the tuba part.

Though at the time I distinctly recall understanding Mr. Smith's comment that "it's a circular thing" as evidence of circularity of motion with respect to the position of his students; upon re-reading the interview I may have misunderstood his comment. He appears to have been commenting on the idea of repetition in practice, what I have called the method of successive approximations.

While small class size was not an issue in this school, Mr. Smith did recall a time in his career when it was. As a neophyte teacher he had taught in a school that had only four students enrolled in Instrumental Music during his first year. Recognizing the need to have a presentable performance at the end of that year, he had encouraged his students to play instruments that would allow them to function as a small jazz combo. He then arranged several traditional jazz pieces for the ensemble. The following year 11 students

enrolled in Instrumental Music, implying that the success of the combo increased new student interest.

One of the biggest issues mentioned by Mr. Smith was about time. He had no time to waste, and used three strategies to maximize his use of time at several levels. The first strategy was to use a consistent structure for every class:

> RESEARCHER: . . . In every rehearsal that I saw, the structure of the class always struck me as being the same. So for example every time the kids walked in, there was a piece of music playing.
>
> MR. SMITH: Well I always do that.
>
> RESEARCHER: And then in terms of . . . preparatory exercise it was simply running the scale. And you always do it the same way, which is quarter notes up . . .
>
> MR. SMITH: . . . quarter notes down. . .

His second strategy with respect to time dealt with the way he structured the timetable, that is, the way he used time across classes:

> RESEARCHER: Part of the thing that I'm trying to come to terms with is the way that the class is structured. Given that you've got 40 minute classes you're not going to spend a whole lot of time . . . .
>
> MR. SMITH: No. With a 40 minute class and you start looking at etude books . . . you got trouble. [Etude books are books of studies meant to teach technique as opposed to being of musical interest.] I mean if I had a longer class, if I had a 60 minute class or a 62 minutes like I had in C . . . then I'd probably, you know, dish out the *I Recommend* book and we'd . . . run some etudes. But the 40 minute classes and only Monday being the one where I have all the tens together . . . .
>
> RESEARCHER: And that's obviously like that's part of your strategy.
>
> MR. SMITH: Yeah. . . . So we take the tens for example . . . I work on big issues like ensemble issues first and if I hear a really obvious clam [mistake], I mean I'll say, "Okay tubas that's E natural, middle finger not first valve." I think, "Pencil it in." On Tuesday, Wednesday if I don't get anything done in the sectionals . . . then Mondays, I mean it, it's basically a shot week because the Tuesday, Wednesdays, Thursdays at noon is when I put all the tens, elevens and twelves together. [Table 2 shows the overall schedule.]

> So there's got to be some kind of improvement happening on those two noon-hour rehearsals, because obviously I'm not going to sit and work with the flutes when the other 70 kids are sitting there and not playing. So in order for me to progress the quickest way for me to do it is to use scales – slow, fast, sometimes we'll do it in a round, so they can listen. And the chromatic scale gets the fingers going. I can teach alternate fingerings there. I can pretty much do everything technically what I would [with] scales because you know even things like the articulation . . . [are] . . . always done in the context of a piece that you're working on. . . .
>
> RESEARCHER: Right. . . .
>
> MR. SMITH: Yeah. They gotta see some reason for doing it . . . 'cause if you're just doing it for the sake of doing it, well . . . .

Mr. Smith was clearly aware that the length of the period had an impact on the structure of his classes and on the strategies that he used to meet his objectives. In addition to the timetable itself, he described the cyclical demands of concert programming:

> MR. SMITH: It's always a performance issue. You know when we first start the year off they're green. I mean they haven't played for two months . . . . So you're working towards Remembrance Day. . . . And that's our first big thing and we do a concert before the service. So I've got to have four pieces that will sound pretty decent.
>
> RESEARCHER: And so when you're programming a typical concert, your high school concert band, in terms of the number of pieces that you're working on at any time, it's relatively small isn't it?
>
> MR. SMITH: Yeah, usually three or four. And I always start the year with the high. . . . I always finish the year with level four and I always start the year with three. Like some guys have this big ego thing that they need to be playing five . . . and I'm thinking, "Go ahead, go for it. Go try and sound bad." But you know in a small school like mine, I'm lucky if I can get 'em playing a good solid four. I mean I'm not talk an advanced four, I'm talking like a middle of the road four . . . *Toccata for Band* ...

Mr. Smith is referring to the system of grading the difficulty of a piece of music employed by such groups as the Alberta Band Association. In this system those pieces which are deemed easiest are graded a level one, suitable for beginning bands, and those

pieces that are deemed to be most difficult are a level six, suitable for advanced senior high school bands or university wind ensembles. I suggest that Mr. Smith's focus on performance is perfectly consistent with Elliott's praxiological model: students value musicing as opposed to music and effective practice recognizes this distinction.

His third strategy with respect to time had to do with how he structured the repertoire. Mr. Smith disclosed that he had each class perform about 12 pieces per year and that he rotated his repertoire on a three-year schedule. In other words, those students who enrolled in Instrumental Music 10, 20, and 30 at Davisville High School prepared approximately 36 separate pieces for the 12 or so concerts at which they performed during their high school careers.

Mr. Smith used the performance schedule to focus his students' attention:

> MR. SMITH: And so there's never a down time 'cause kids all say after a trip or after a concert, "Can we have the next day off?" Uh-uh. We're starting the year-end concert now, because if I'm not ready by the end of May the concert won't be ready . . . take a look at all the days you've got cancelled, we had a beach volley ball day here, I lost a noon-hour band practice . . . . Oh, track yesterday and so I lost half my Grade 10s and we rehearsed this morning [and] . . . we got to the very end of the both pieces. I had some more notes and rhythms that actually, we got 'em in place today. Just under the wire 'cause Monday I rehearse all the tens together, Tuesday and Wednesday I rehearse all the brass. So I won't see the woodwinds . . . again, until after the concert.
>
> RESEARCHER: That's scary.
>
> MR. SMITH: Yeah, so we're ready. We'll be ready. But there's always . . a goal, urgency, both for me and for them. . . . sometimes I'd like to just sit and say "Okay, now let's listen to Miles Davis' [piece] *So What* first, from start to finish . . . and . . . we're gonna learn it by ear. And don't worry about the music. Let's get the rhythm section going first," (*sings)* ba-do, ba-do, ba-do, dum ... and "Oh, well, I can't figure out." And "Oh I'll just [listen to] the bass, I'll play the beginning again for you." And then get the bass player going and the drummer together then piano and horns. So I wouldn't mind doing more of that . . . but there's just not enough time.

Summary of Classroom Practices

Each of the classes that I observed at Davisville School was structured in a similar way. The teacher almost always ensured that there was some kind of music playing on the classroom's public address system as the students entered. This was a conscious strategy on his part to set the tone for the classroom. It also served to establish a kind of cultural link between himself and his students. At times, he played pop music to demonstrate that he knew, liked, and was not dismissive of the music to which he knew his students listened.

The students entered individually or in groups of two or three, got their instruments and music from the storage room, and sat down to play. They performed these tasks quickly and without a great deal of fuss; only occasionally did the teacher have to encourage them to hurry up.

Once they were seated, the teacher generally began with some preliminary announcements about the band's upcoming activities before he had the class warm up. The warm-up was always fairly perfunctory; it usually consisted of a major scale in quarter notes and eighth notes, and the relative minor, again in quarters and eighths. The relative minor was played in both its pure and harmonic forms. The tonic arpeggio was always played following the last performance of each scale in eighth notes.

Following the warm up, the class began work on the festival literature during every class that I observed. The teacher used a headset microphone with all but the smallest groups. He frequently played trumpet along with the class, and less frequently trombone. Mr. Smith was a skilled player and always provided an exemplary musical model for his students to emulate. He was extremely adept at transposing and had no

difficulty in transposing at sight from E flat, B flat, C, or bass clef parts, on both trumpet and trombone. When he wasn't playing, he almost always conducted and sang. When conducting Mr. Smith almost always used a pencil and not a baton. He provided constant commentary, feedback, and encouragement to his students.

When they were not playing, the students either sat quietly or talked in small groups of two or three. When only one or two groups were talking, the noise level was generally not a nuisance; when there were more than two or three groups of students talking the level of noise could be quite distracting. Though he frequently attempted to quiet the class, the only consistently effective way he had of getting the students to stop talking was to have them play.

Mr. Smith's approach was prescriptive, diagnostic, and remedial. For the most part he prescribed both what the ensembles should play and how it should be played, though his students did have the opportunity to offer their opinions on at least some of the literature selected. Once decisions about the choice of appropriate literature and the stylistically appropriate interpretations had been made, he adopted a diagnostic approach; essentially, he viewed the students' performance in terms of its deficiencies. He then turned to the remedial approach: he identified problematic passages and had his students listen while he either sang or played the passage correctly. In this way he was able to effect improvement in the class's performance fairly quickly. I suspect that he encountered novel problems on only the most infrequent basis.

Once a problem passage had been corrected, or at least improved, Mr. Smith reconstructed the entire piece. He was in a sense working like a mechanic who has the job of maintaining a large failure-prone machine. He isolated components that were not

working, removed them from the machine, fixed them, and then reinserted them. He then fired up the machine and tested it by running it again. Through this method of successive approximations, he was eventually able to get a satisfactory, and at times, superb performance from the group.

Once the class had worked on one piece and made some improvements to it, the teacher had them move on to the next piece and the process was repeated. Once he had used all of the time available to the class, the class stopped and the students put their instruments away. This process was done quickly, the length of transitions minimized by the architecture of the room, for the students could access the instrument storage space in relatively large numbers and without impediments. The chairs, stands, and percussion instruments were always set up. Additional set-up of chairs and stands was required for only the school's largest performance ensemble.

The tone of the class was business-like and convivial. The teacher used humor in his interactions with his students. Very occasionally he used it to cajole some of his laggard students to keep on task.

Mr. Smith was frequently involved in a negotiation of one sort or another with his students. During one class that I observed, he asked that his brass and woodwind sections work together in his absence on the following day. He stated, "We'll talk about compensation at some point." It appeared that he had a fairly clear idea about what he can and cannot expect from his students in terms of effort. I would argue that he did not hold all of his students to the same standard; that he recognized that all of his students are not capable of putting forth the same effort and that his expectations of and for individual students varied.

In the large ensemble grouping (i.e., the full Instrumental Music 10-20-30 class) the students, with the exception of the percussionists, sat in their chairs for the duration of the class. Mr. Smith also remained fairly stationary. Though he was at liberty to move more than his students, his movements throughout the classroom and through the ensemble itself, were restrained and infrequent. In the sectional rehearsals, Mr. Smith consistently moved from one group of instrumentalists to another, to work on the musical problems that each instrumental group encountered. In the small combo Mr. Smith stood in the ensemble and played with it, and the students themselves moved from one instrument to another.

Mr. Smith ensured that his students were exposed to as much literature as possible during their tenure at high school by rotating the repertoire on a three-year cycle. This also ensured a kind of maximal return of profit on the investment that he had made in his own cultural capital. Having thoroughly learned a piece of music, he did not have to invest the same amount of time in re-learning the piece when it reappeared in his repertoire list every third year. He also avoided having to learn a completely new repertoire every year; he could simply add new repertoire that he judged to be musically worthwhile to his pre-existent repertoire as he encountered it. Moreover, because he revisited at least some of the same repertoire every third year, he could approach it with the new insight afforded to him by his continuous, ongoing practice.

My observations of this teacher's classes occurred at a fairly intense time of year from his perspective. All of the bands and ensembles in the school were performing in various music festivals, planning extended field trips, or attending band camps. The teacher was also performing publicly as a member of a brass quintet all the while trying

to ensure that he maintained some contact with his family. On top of everything, he was ill. The thought that he might be overdoing it may have occurred to him, but I suspect that he felt considerable pressure to maintain this grueling schedule.

Mr. Smith identified a number of issues that were of concern to him as he implemented the curriculum: curricular goals, his use of the baton, his role as teacher, his role as conductor, modeling, his students' understanding of the objective of rehearsal, time constraints, repetitive class structures, warm-ups, timetabling, use of class time, use of scales to teach technique, performance, concert programming, graded levels of difficulty, reiterative programming, and productivity. However, these are issues facing all senior high school music teachers; they are not specific to the challenges of teaching in small schools. Because of the large number of students enrolled in Instrumental Music in Davisville School, Mr. Smith did not face any of the issues associated with low enrollment.

The strategy he currently employed that is potentially relevant here is that of varying his physical position with respect to the class and using movement, which differed depending upon the size of the group (i.e., the three different sized ensembles with which he worked). When Mr. Smith worked with the combined Instrumental Music 10-20-30 class he was more often than not stationary and in the front and center of the ensemble, moving only when it was necessary to respond to a student in difficulty. This practice is in keeping with convention.

In the sectional rehearsals (i.e., the small groups), Mr. Smith's movement relative to his students was completely different. He stood behind the members of each section and played their parts with and over them, as they practiced. The entire class would

perform a particular phrase; he would then isolate a part and work all of the students who played the same part (e.g., first trumpets, second trumpets, etc.) and the entire class would then repeat the phrase. Working in this cyclical manner, the teacher moved systematically through each group of instrumentalists. His movement during these rehearsals was consistent, deliberate, and pre-planned.

A third and fundamentally different pattern of movement occurred in the senior combo rehearsals. In this group, the teacher stood among his students as a member of the ensemble, facing the position of the audience. While he was stationary when he worked with this ensemble, the students moved from one instrument to another. During each piece, one of the students played a piano part on an electronic keyboard while another student played a bass part on a second electronic keyboard. The students moved from one of the keyboard instruments to the other every time they played a different piece of music. This movement was necessary because each of the instruments played a different assigned role in the music. When they changed musical roles within the ensemble, the students necessarily had to change instruments. The same kind of change of position occurred between the percussionists; while one student played the drum set the other switched to auxiliary percussion.

This pattern of motion between instruments occurred among the members of the rhythm section and not among the members of the wind section. However, this change of instrument, and of role, was not necessarily confined to just the rhythm section; most of the students who played a wind instrument in this group also had the ability to play keyboard, and the keyboardists all played wind instruments in the concert band. Indeed it was certainly well within the technical ability of at least one of the students to move from

the wind section to keyboards, and from keyboards to percussion. This ability to move from section to section almost certainly meant that that particular student had greater intellectual access to the music that she played; and it almost certainly meant that she could perform as a member of the ensemble with greater sensitivity to the various roles and functions of the different ensemble members. The use of these different patterns of movement suggests conceptually different pedagogical approaches related to group size.

Finally, Mr. Smith had recounted the strategies he used as a neophyte teacher in a small school. He asked some students to reconsider their choice of instruments and then, once he had the instrumentation for a viable musical ensemble, wrote literature specifically for that ensemble.

When I conducted the final member check with Mr. Smith, he expressed concern regarding my portrayal of him. He cited two specific instances to make his point: (a) I had indicated that a student had been chewing gum in his class; and (b) I had described a student or students as sitting with their legs crossed during rehearsal. He did not contest that these events had occurred, only that the depiction of these events could be construed as proof of a lack of professional competence.

Any of my observations about class behavior need to be considered in the context in which they occur: in this case, a lunch-hour rehearsal involving some 70 students. In such a situation, it is unreasonable to expect a teacher to be able to observe everything that is happening and act on it. The students whose behaviors I described avoided drawing Mr. Smith's attention towards them. Though I did not have the opportunity to interview them, it seems reasonable to assume they were aware that they could continue in their behaviors as long as they did not exceed some threshold that was somehow

known to them. This was a common and ongoing process in every class that I observed for this study.

In my view, such behavior (i.e., behavior that does not exceed a given limit) is a kind of deference to the teacher. It is beyond the scope of this study to further explicate this point. Suffice it to say, I believe that the teacher's behavior in these circumstances was quite appropriate. Indeed his teacher practices were consistent with those of exemplary music teachers as they are described in the literature.

Chapter Five: A Comparison of Pedagogical Practices across Schools

Size-Dependent Practices

Overview

Teachers identified four issues as being related to the size of their classes: (a) instrumental balance, (b) validation, (c) student interests, and (d) group engagement. In this chapter I focus on those strategies that teachers used to deal with each of these issues.

Practices to address instrumental balance

Unacceptable instrumental balance was identified as a key problem in small schools, specifically because there were not enough students to play the requisite parts. Three relevant strategies were identified: (a) implementing multi-instrumentalism, (b) changing the approach to the literature, and (c) using unconventional instrumentation. Each is described in turn.

The first strategy is that of multi-instrumentalism, both within the class and across years of training. For example, Mrs. Daniels had her students play more than one instrument, as long as they had the necessary abilities and interests. As a consequence, she employed this practice differently from year to year, as the abilities of her students warranted. During the observation phase of this study, at least one of her students switched from trumpet to baritone saxophone as the need arose. This enabled a second student, whose main instrument was the baritone saxophone, to switch to percussion. At times as many as three students simultaneously switched to percussion from their primary instruments to play musically essential parts in one piece. The possibility of having the

students play percussion parts was available because these parts required only minimal technique.

Mrs. Daniels varied the implementation of multi-instrumentalism by having individual students change instruments from one year to the next. This practice was employed both to minimize the gap in technical ability between more and less experienced band students and to minimize the frustration that was inevitably experienced by the more technically accomplished ones. A second intended consequence of this practice was the encouragement of her students' breadth of musical experience.

At least three of the teachers in this study believed that students who play a number of different instruments and who, as a consequence, have experienced a number of different musical roles, are capable of functioning more sympathetically and effectively within a musical ensemble. The results of the student questionnaire indicated that a number of students could play more than one instrument and thus they represent a potentially exploitable resource for addressing the issue of balance.

The second strategy to address balance dealt with the selection of literature to fit the group at hand and the rewriting of the existing literature. With the exception of the Davisville School program, for which balance was not an issue, the teachers had to adjust the literature to accommodate specific deficiencies in instrumentation because there were not enough students to play the conventional literature for wind-percussion ensemble. Mrs. Daniels recognized that she could not select music on the basis of any of its musical properties, other than the appropriateness of its fit to the instrumental resources she had available to her. This strategy was recognized at least tacitly by all of the teachers who participated in this study. All chose literature that they believed their students could or

would perform adequately. In the Louisville School program where the teacher elected to have his students work exclusively from a method book, it appears that he believed his students lacked the technical means to collectively address any of the literature for wind-percussion ensemble.

Some teachers addressed the problem of balance by rewriting pre-existent literature. This strategy was employed by two of the teachers who participated in this study, recognized but avoided by a third, and apparently not considered by a fourth. The teacher who used this strategy most consistently was Mr. Smith, not in his capacity as teacher in Davisville School, but rather when he held a previous teaching position where student enrollment in Instrumental Music was particularly low. He was the only teacher who held a Bachelor of Music, as well as a Bachelor of Education degree. It appears that his cultural capital enabled him to practice in ways that differed from the kinds of practices available to some of the others. Though Mr. Parker at Thomasville School used this strategy as well, he used it differently from Mr. Smith. Whereas Mr. Smith created a literature for the specific ensemble with which he was working, Mr. Parker re-wrote pre-existing parts, for instruments that are not conventionally used in the standard wind-percussion ensemble. Mrs. Daniels at Stevensville School recognized that rearranging the literature to fit her resources was a strategy (e.g., through the use of computerized notational programs such as Finale or Sibelius); but she did not implement it because of financial and time constraints, competing priorities, and her own lack of knowledge.

The third strategy to deal with balance is the use of unconventional instrumentation. The Instrumental Music programs at Louisville, Stevensville, and Thomasville Schools included bass guitar, in part to address the issue of balance. The use

of the bass guitar adds a voice to the ensemble which if absent, would exacerbate an already problematic (i.e., unbalanced) situation; without a bass voice an instrumental ensemble is top-heavy. In both Stevensville and Thomasville Schools, the instrumental balance was weighted heavily in favor of the soprano and alto voices; both programs had deficiencies in the tenor brass voices, (i.e., there were no trombones or euphoniums). The absence of a bass voice of some kind would have meant that the instrumental deficiencies that already existed in the programs would have been even more apparent.

The two other factors to support this practice in small classes were (a) intonation and (b) student interest. Intonation of the lowest voice is critical because instrumental ensembles tune from the bottom up. If the student or students playing the bass-voiced instruments are out of tune, the intonation of the entire ensemble will be problematic. In those instances where there may be only one student playing a bass voice it makes musical sense to avoid the tuba, an instrument required by convention, and have that part played on an instrument that does not have the same kinds of insecurity with respect to intonation as a tuba does.

The final factor supporting this kind of instrumentation in small classes is student interest. There is almost always at least one student who is interested in playing bass guitar. Denying a student the opportunity to play it may decrease the total number of students who enroll in Instrumental Music; in small schools a decrease in the number of music students may place the continuity of the program in jeopardy.

A more radical variant of the strategy of alternative instrumentation was presented by Mr. Parker of Thomasville School. He had purchased a set of hand chimes for his school and used them with his senior Instrumental Music class. This is clearly a departure

from the instrumentation for the wind-percussion ensemble prescribed in the Instrumental Music 10-20-30 curriculum and from the teaching practice implied by such an ensemble. However, in that he did not abandon completely the requirements and implied practices of the curriculum, this practice should be seen as being complementary to, and not a replacement of, those requirements.

This was an ingenious way to enable students of varying capability and experience to perform as a group. Because the music for hand chime choir is written on a score that resembles a piano score, the students have an intellectual, visually mediated access to the music that they are performing that is often not made available to students as members of a wind-percussion ensemble. Typically, the members of a wind-percussion ensemble, other than the conductor, do not see the whole piece of music expressed in standard notation before them.

Practices to address validation

Validation of the band's performance, and thus teacher competence, is often achieved through competition, usually in the form of music festivals. This is particularly problematic for small groups. Mrs. Daniels noted that the adjudications her groups received at music festivals had varied during her career, depending upon the size of the school in which she worked. She attributed the negative criticisms that the Stevensville School band received in adjudications to unacceptable instrumental balance. As a consequence of this continuous and negative criticism, she had begun to eschew participation in music festivals. The teacher at Thomasville School, Mr. Parker, whose

band was similar in size and instrumentation to that of Mrs. Daniels, had simultaneously and independently begun the same practice with respect to festivals.

By way of contrast, Mr. Smith consistently competed in music festivals and, in fact, oriented his classes toward such participation. Unlike the other teachers in this study, he denied his students the option of playing the bass guitar in his Instrumental Music classes for two reasons: (a) the enrollment in Instrumental Music at Davisville School was sufficient that he could teach using the standard repertoire, and (b) he entered his classes into music festivals where conventional instrumentation is required and the use of the tuba as the bass voice is essential. Similarly, although there were more than enough instrumentalists within his program to have students play all of the instruments of the wind-percussion ensemble, he chose not to have any students play the oboe. His justification for this omission was that a poor oboist could ruin his band's chances of receiving the superior ratings he wanted at the music festivals that they entered.

Mr. Smith consistently achieved superior ratings at music festivals with his various bands. He effectively used such success to validate his practice and to maintain his band's profile within the community. Similarly, Mr. Stuart of Louisville School had found his success at a festival, when he held a temporary position in northern B.C. prior to moving to his position in Louisville School, to be validating.

Notwithstanding the purportedly non-competitive nature of some music festivals, Mrs. Daniels and Mr. Parker saw music festivals as unavoidably competitive and, as such, ultimately negative experiences for their students, for themselves, and for their programs. As a corollary to her practice of avoiding negative experiences for her students, Mrs. Daniels chose to have her students play at the kinds of events where the

students would have positive experiences: communal events such as pep rallies, awards ceremonies, and school concerts.

Practices to address student interest

Another issue of small, unconventionally-constituted music classes is keeping student interest, so that students are retained throughout their senior years at school. Strategies of multi-instrumentalism and alternative instrumentation, described above, address this issue. Both Mr. Parker and Mrs. Daniels recognized the necessity of distinguishing the students in Senior High Instrumental Music from the students in Junior High Instrumental Music, and from the student body at large. But whereas Mr. Parker chose to make this distinction on the basis of musical ability (e.g., use of hand chimes), Mrs. Daniels chose to make it on the basis of social relations, by engaging in non-musical activities that were intended exclusively for music students. Mr. Stuart's statements about marketing strategies and non-musical rewards as ways of garnering student interest in enrollment are related practices.

Practices to address group engagement

Of central concern to Instrumental Music teachers is the issue of group engagement in the process of musicing. Ensemble work is essentially teamwork. The possibility of effective teamwork at Louisville School seemed remote: with few exceptions the students actively disliked each other. The class was filled with animosity. Coupled with its lack of technical capability, the potential for being able to work as an instrumental group was highly unlikely. However, the issue of engagement applies to all

small classes and was evident from my observations, though not identified as such by any of the teachers.

Instrumental music is predicated on the assumption that the role of the individual player is to concentrate on mastery of his or her individual part; it is the conductor's responsibility to ensure that all the parts are integrated, by implementing the directions from the score. However, this integration can be achieved in other ways. For example, when working with a hand chime choir, students can rotate through the individual parts of the choir; this could provide the student with an insight into the functioning of the ensemble as a whole that is not typically available to students in a large well-balanced wind-percussion ensemble. The strategies related to multi-instrumentalism could achieve the same objective. The benefits that accrue to the ensemble-as-a-whole by familiarizing the students with a whole piece of music were not recognized by the teachers in this study; not once during the five-month period of this study did I see a teacher show the score of a piece of music that the students were working on to the students in his or her class. Yet on several occasions I saw a student get up from his or her chair and walk over to another student to see what that student was playing indicating the student's need to develop a sense of the whole.

The fact that size matters in addressing this issue was most evident in the differences in Mr. Smith's classes (i.e., between combined classes and sectional classes), though he did not describe it as such. His approach to instruction was fundamentally different, depending on the size of the group. As previously described, when he worked with the combined (i.e., larger) classes, he taught from the front of the class and was largely stationery except when it was necessary to respond to a student in difficulty. This

practice was very similar to that of the other three teachers, is in keeping with convention, and is suited to larger, conventional groups. In the sectional rehearsals and in senior combo rehearsals, both involving much smaller groups, Mr. Smith's movement relative to his students was completely different, as has been described previously. The deliberate use of different movement patterns depending upon group size has application to the other three schools, where the groups are smaller. It appears that these movement patterns facilitate group engagement in the process of musicing. None of the other teachers departed from the conventional model.

Size-Invariant Practices

Overview

Despite the differences in practice due to size, there were also significant commonalities in the practices of all four teachers which I deem common to all music education practice, regardless of the size of the class. The common areas of practice are (a) consistency, (b) non-technical discussion, (c) perfunctory warm ups, (d) the use of performance-oriented literature, (e) modeling, (f) humor, and (g) taking issue with time.

Consistency

All classes were marked by a high degree of consistency in terms of starting the class, the use of repertoire, and the use of amplification. In terms of starting the class: two of the teachers always wrote a list of the pieces on which the students would be working on the classroom blackboard at the beginning of each period; another always had music playing on the stereo system as students entered the room. In terms of repertoire: three of

the four teachers worked exclusively on the repertoire that their bands were performing either at music festivals or concerts during the period that the study was conducted; they never worked from a method or technique book. In contrast, the fourth teacher never had his students work collectively on any repertoire, opting instead to have them work as a class exclusively from a method book. From time to time he had his students work individually on repertoire that he and the students selected together; he was the only to follow this practice. In terms of amplification: two of the four teachers used a microphone headset and a public address system to amplify their voices during the classes. One of the teachers used this system in every class. The other varied his practice depending on the size of the ensemble with which he was working, but it was always consistent within class type.

Non-technical discussion

The classes of those teachers who were committed to specific performances or musical functions almost always began with some discussion of those upcoming events. The length of time spent on those discussions varied depending upon the proximity of the class to the event in question and the nature of the event. In one case, the teacher had a clear grasp of her own strengths vis-à-vis her cultural and social capitals, and chose to spend her time in class working on those activities that would ensure the social value of the class to her students.

Perfunctory warm ups

None of the teachers used an extensive or elaborate warm up exercise with their classes. None had their students play any technical drills or studies other than scales.

The use of performance-oriented literature

The three teachers who were preparing literature for performance worked almost exclusively on that literature. Any of the literature that was played by a class that was not being prepared for performance was played with the intention of determining its suitability for performance. Essentially it appeared as if the teachers were trying to determine how much time had to be invested in the piece before it was publicly performable.

Modeling

All of the teachers modeled at least some portion of the pieces on which their students were working. In three of the four cases, this modeling consisted of both an instrumental modeling and vocal modeling; in the fourth case, the teacher modeled by voice only. The quality of these models varied significantly. In one instance the teacher was an accomplished performer on the primary instrument on which he chose to model. He was also capable of providing a reasonably accomplished performance on a number of other instruments, yet he recognized his limitations. In another instance the teacher was an accomplished performer but not on the instrument on which he chose to model. For this teacher, his lack of proficiency was problematic.

All of the teachers provided vocal models. Like the instrumental models, these vocal models varied in quality. Both the technical demands and the technical capabilities of musical instruments differ from those of vocal music and the voice. Most instruments have a wider melodic range and are capable of accurately executing more complex melodic patterns than is the untrained human voice. Music that is written for band instruments, in particular, is often written in keys that, depending on the range and tessitura of the part, may be difficult to sing for the untrained voice. When teachers elect to sing musical patterns that exceed the technical limits of their own voices, they frequently produce a model that is deficient in some respect. The teachers whom I observed appeared concerned with broad stylistic features of the pieces rather than with its finer details. In other words, they often chose to accurately model stylistic aspects of performance as opposed to pitch.

The teachers sang either alone with their students listening or they sang over the ensemble as the students played. If they sang over the ensemble, they often added a running commentary, a kind of exhortation, to encourage and remind their students about some aspect of the performance.

Humor

All of the teachers displayed a sense of humor in their interactions with their students. At times this use of humor pervaded the entire interaction; at times it was used pointedly, either to defuse an awkward situation or to bring a student's attention back to the task at hand. The tone in three of the classrooms could be characterized as informal

and convivial; it differed from the tone that predominated at Louisville School which was adversely affected by the animosity that existed between the students.

Taking issue with time

There are two aspects of this temporal issue: the pressures and weaknesses associated with the music teaching year, and the constraints of the school timetable. First, within public schools, there is a cyclical nature to teaching music as a performing art that demands a chronologically differentiated practice. Thus the teachers' practices varied with the calendar. One teacher clearly identified the major performance commitments of his band students: Remembrance Day ceremony, Christmas concert, music festivals, spring concert. This cycle of events is itself embedded within a school year that tends to disrupt students' musical practice, starting with the beginning of the school year. Many students return to school in September without having played their instruments over the summer holidays. As a result, music teachers necessarily spend the first month of the school year rebuilding technical skills.

Second, all of the teachers stated that the timetable imposed by the school's overall needs was a constraint on good music practice. Only one teacher, Mr. Smith at Davisville School, was in a position to alter the schedule of the music classes to better fit the needs of his program. At Davisville School all of the Instrumental Music classes were about 40 minutes long. Elsewhere, with the exception of Thomasville School where one of the three Instrumental Music classes was about 40 minutes, the classes were about 80 minutes in length. The comparatively shorter classes made it easier for students to focus on the matters at hand and not become tired or bored.

The other difference between the music timetable at Davisville School and at the others was the frequency of classes. At Davisville the Instrumental Music 10 and 20 students met for classes at least five times during a normal school week. Those who participated in the stage band or the small jazz combo as well as the concert band, played seven times a week; and those who played in the stage band and the small jazz combo as well as the concert band, played nine times a week. Thus students had frequent opportunities to play their instruments in class, and it is frequency of practice that improves skill acquisition and performance. This frequency differs appreciably from that of students in the other three schools, who rehearsed not more than three times a week. Shorter, more frequent practice at Davisville was possible because Mr. Smith altered the timetable. This is a practice that could be of direct benefit to the classes at the other schools.

Unique Differences among the Schools

Overview

Each of the Instrumental Music programs investigated for this study is not only a product of its teacher and the Alberta curriculum, but also of the overall context within which it operated. I turn now to consider the unique differences across schools. I will consider the differences between Davisville and Louisville Schools first, because they are at the extreme ends of the range in terms of Instrumental Music student enrollment for this study. Then I will consider the differences between Stevensville and Thomasville, which are intermediate cases in terms of student enrollment.

The polar opposites

The Senior High Instrumental Music programs at Davisville and Louisville Schools are at opposite ends of the spectrum in terms of enrollment. Seventy-six of the 325 students who attended school at Davisville School (23%) were in enrolled in Instrumental Music. At the Louisville School, only five of the 160 students who attended (3%) were so enrolled. In both cases class size and the context in which it was placed significantly impacted teacher practice.

In Davisville School there were sufficient students to adhere to the conventions of the wind-percussion ensemble. Specifically, the teacher could use the established literature without alteration; and a large, established literature exists. Under these circumstances, the teacher spent the bulk of his instructional time working on pieces from that literature; issues of technique were always addressed within the context of a given piece of music. The students in Davisville School were almost always engaged in authentic musicing. Conditions were such that the teacher at Davisville School could easily apply the conventional approaches in which he was trained, to a situation in which conventional standards (i.e., of the size required for a wind-percussion ensemble) were met.

In Louisville School the number of students was so small that it was impossible to meet the standards of convention. Moreover, an appropriate literature did not exist. The teacher had his students work from a method book whenever they worked together. Although method books always include music that can be considered authentic (e.g., folk songs like Frere Jacques or Twinkle, Twinkle, Little Star), this music is almost always included for technical reasons: to teach the instrumental technique necessary to perform

the piece. The assumption underlying the use of these pieces is that the students already know the songs; emphasis can be placed on mastering technical skills and acquiring enough skill so that the students can eventually play the conventional band literature. As a result, in the Louisville situation, the students were being prepared to play a literature that they would never have the opportunity to play.

When the students in the Louisville Instrumental Music program were not collectively working from a method book, they worked individually on material selected for them by their teacher. However, they had not acquired sufficient musical skill to practice independently. The students in this program never had the opportunity to collectively engage in authentic musicing.

Like his counterpart at Davisville School, Mr. Stuart of Louisville School also applied conventional approaches in his classroom, reflecting his training. Because of very low student enrollment, such approaches were neither able to maintain student interest nor to produce authentic musicing. Given the context in which he operated, it was impossible for him to meet conventional standards.

Though there was a significant difference in the number of students enrolled in Instrumental Music at the Davisville and Louisville schools, the conceptual approach to instruction used by the teachers in each situation was predicated on similar assumptions with respect to outcome. Mr. Stuart at Louisville School wanted his band program to look, and sound, like the one at Davisville School. And the band at Davisville School sounded like a conventional wind-percussion ensemble. This outcome is only possible when two conditions are met: (a) when enrollment size is over 30 and thus sufficient to

establish an actual wind-percussion ensemble; and (b) when the practice by which that outcome is to be achieved is embedded in an appropriate context.

The context at Davisville was appropriate. Indeed, the program at Davisville School had everything going for it. First, there was more than sufficient enrollment to meet conventional standards. Second, the teacher was well-trained in conventional music education through undergraduate degrees in both music and education. Third, that teacher had some 18 years of teaching experience, the bulk of which was at Davisville School. Accrued years of experience at a specific school site are one of the factors associated with teacher effectiveness (Epstein, 2002). Fourth, a very active parent's band council provided solid evidence of community support for the music program (despite the teacher's opinions about community musical taste). Fifth, the principal admired his staff for the quality of its performance and his students for their strong work ethic. All of the conditions necessary to meet the conventional standards for a wind-percussion ensemble and to have a successful Instrumental Music program were in place at Davisville School. In this situation, an experienced conventional music teacher would be able to implement a successful music program for two reasons: (a) because the context matches conventional practice and (b) because conventional practice is what music teachers have learned and what the curriculum guide promotes. This is not to suggest that Mr. Smith's success was undeserved; only that there were many supports in place that facilitated its achievement.

The program at Louisville had a myriad of challenges. First, student enrollment was very low. Second, the class consisted of a group of students with admitted low academic aspirations, who actively disliked each other. Third, though the teacher had

extensive experience as a musician and held an undergraduate degree in education, he had never taught for more than a year in one school and had considerably less overall teaching experience than did the teachers in the other sites, thus hampering his effectiveness. Fourth, there was a systemic obstacle: a 14-year history of discontinuity with respect to Instrumental Music, since the inception of the school. Exactly why this was the case is not clear, but it should be noted that not only was the Instrumental Music program in competition with other options available to students, it was also in competition with a successful Vocal Music program in the school. One could infer that student interest in participation in music was already met without the need to become involved in Instrumental Music.

At Louisville School most of the characteristics necessary to have a successful Instrumental Music program (even by the standards of musicing, let alone curricular standards) were lacking, with the exception of the teacher's training. At the time of this study, the fate of this program was precarious. It needed a miracle that even a well-trained teacher with extensive teaching experience and an arsenal of innovative methods appropriate to small, non-cohesive classes, would have had difficulty to provide.

It is clear from Mr. Stuart's case that not all teachers of Instrumental Music have, as part of their cultural capital, the technical skills to adapt their teaching strategies to the demands of a low enrollment Instrumental Music program. In our discussions he did not identify any strategies that would enable him to effectively deal with the size-related problems in his class. Instead, he focused on long-term enrollment issues (e.g., starting over again from the bottom up).

Addressing the challenge of the Louisville class would have required something like the following combination: the relational skills of Mrs. Daniels to build a sense of team (essential to performance as a group); innovative applications of music practice, such as Mr. Parker's use of hand chimes to address problems of instrumentation, level of technique, and sense of satisfaction; and strong entrepreneurial effort to tie in with an already successful Vocal Music program (e.g., by having the Instrumental Music students provide rhythmic accompaniment to some of the vocal pieces). Ironically, while the curriculum guide may not have sanctioned this approach, it might have had a chance of working.

Given the extraordinary mismatch between its context and conventional practice, the Louisville School program appeared doomed to fail, regardless of how hard the teacher worked and how capable a musician he was. In this case, the context was not at all suited to conventional practice. Mr. Stuart, like the other teachers, was trained in conventional practice, which is what the curriculum guide promotes. He was trying to adhere to the curriculum guide in a situation in which everything was against his success. I turn now to the two teachers whose practice was conducted in schools situated in the middle of the enrollment spectrum: Thomasville and Stevensville.

The schools in the middle

Seventeen of the 115 students who attended school at Stevensville (15%) were in enrolled in Instrumental Music; at Thomasville School, 20 of the 120 students who attended (17%) were so enrolled. In both cases class size and the context in which it was placed impacted teacher practice. But those sizes and contexts have much in common.

The contexts within which both teachers worked were quite similar; both schools are located in villages and students are bussed in from relatively large geographic areas. Both villages are in economic decline, are agriculturally based, and hold community values in which high academic aspirations are not expected. Yet both communities support their respective music programs, as shown by the quality of furnishing of their respective music classrooms.

The area of contextual similarity with perhaps the greatest impact is that of the music student body. In response to the first question on the questionnaire that I administered at the beginning of June, 2005, 41% of the music students at Stevensville School indicated that they had practiced their instrument outside of their classes more than three times in the previous month; at Thomasville, the figure is even more impressive: 65%. Only 26% of students of the students at Davisville practiced outside of the classroom. This relatively low frequency of practice might be a response to the timetable of the Instrumental Music program at Davisville School.

The rate of multi-instrumentalism in both village schools exceeded that of Davisville School students: 65% for the students at Stevensville School and 94% for the students at Thomasville School compared to 50% for the students at Davisville School. Similarly, ownership of a musical instrument was about the same at the two village schools in question, 59% for Thomasville School and 65% for Stevensville School, compared to 87% for Davisville School. The percentage of students taking private music lessons was similar in Stevensville, Thomasville, and Davisville: 47% for Stevensville and 59% for Thomasville compared to 63% for Davisville. Some of the difference in percentages between the village schools and Davisville with respect to instrument

ownership may be accounted for by differences in family affluence. Notwithstanding the fact that the Instrumental Music program was, by conventional standards, the best of the programs investigated for this study, the music students at the village schools appeared to be richer in the cultural capital appropriate to participation in Instrumental Music programs than that at Davisville.

Perhaps because of the similarities in their respective music student bodies, as well as their own acknowledgement of the need to accommodate small class sizes, the pedagogical practice of the teachers at Stevensville and Thomasville have a lot in common. For example, both teachers recognized the importance of maintaining student interest, especially amongst the most senior students; but their strategies to deal with this issue differed (i.e., the use of hand chimes at Thomasville compared to the involvement in non-music activities at Stevensville). Moreover, both enhanced the instrumentation of their classes by allowing the use of the bass guitar though their strategies about the use of this instrument differed. Mr. Parker played bass guitar and thus knew the instrument well; he transcribed tuba parts specifically for this instrument because he could do so. In contrast, Mrs. Daniels was more than willing to have a bass guitarist in her class but she was not familiar with the instrument; she could not assist the student who played bass guitar in her class in his study of it.

This difference in the implementation of strategies can be explained by differences in cultural capital. Mrs. Daniels, the teacher from Stevensville School, had no formal university training in either music or music education; whereas Mr. Parker, the teacher from Davisville School, majored in music education during his undergraduate years at university. The training and skills each teacher brought to his or her classes

differed and thus the pedagogical practices each demonstrated in the classroom also differed, reflecting the differences in each teacher's cultural capital. It was not surprising that Mrs. Daniels never modeled instrumental performance for her students and that Mr. Parker did so on a regular basis. Mrs. Daniels' strengths were in her strong relational skills; these became an essential part of her pedagogical practice. In contrast, Mr. Parker had far stronger cultural capital with respect to music education, which he applied to his practice.

Another practice they held in common was their avoidance of music festivals for essentially the same reason: Prior experience led them to believe that their students would be judged harshly using criteria that indirectly included the size of their ensembles and which could be construed as unfair. They recognized that perceived continuous failure at music festivals could have a negative impact on their students, on their programs, and, ultimately, on themselves, and so they chose to not participate in music festivals.

Though there were similarities in their practices, there were also important differences. Whereas Mrs. Daniels advocated and exploited multi-instrumentalism in her Instrumental Music class Mr. Parker did not. This is of particular interest in light of the large number of his students who reported that they were multi-instrumentalists on the questionnaire. He had a potential resource that could be employed in implementing an appropriate strategy (i.e., multi-instrumentalism) that he did not use. At the same time his use of hand chimes suggests a willingness to experiment with alternative instrumentation that was radical, both in the demands it placed on the students as multi-instrumentalists and in its deviation from the instrumentation prescribed in the curriculum.

Both teachers did their best to adhere to the curriculum; yet they also recognized size as an issue. In this way they were caught between the proverbial rock and a hard place: To meet the objectives of the Instrumental Music 10-20-30 curriculum, they needed to circumvent the curricular requirement for its model of implementation (i.e., the wind-percussion or strings model). In attempting to reconcile the needs of the curriculum with the needs of the small group, they departed from the norm. As described above, each used their own capitals to address the challenges this presented: Mrs. Daniels relied on her social capital; Mr. Parker relied on his cultural capital; and both teachers decided not to compete in festivals. Though the curriculum guide does not promote such departures from the norm, they made sense given the contexts in which these teachers taught.

Chapter Six: Conclusions and Discussion

Answering the Question

I began this dissertation by asking a fairly simple question: How do music teachers who work in small senior secondary schools in Alberta respond to the difficulties that are encountered in an Instrumental Music program that are related to, or a function of, school size? To answer this question I undertook an ethnographic study to examine the practices of four such teachers. Here is what I found: Two of the four teachers (Mrs. Daniels at Stevensville School and Mr. Parker at Thomasville School) implemented a variety of strategies to cope with the difficulties of teaching Instrumental Music in low enrollment classes: (a) implementing multi-instrumentalism, changing the approach to the literature, and using unconventional instrumentation, in order to address inherent problems with instrumental balance; (b) focusing on positive opportunities for public performance and withdrawal from musical festivals, in order to provide appropriate validation for their students and themselves; and (c) using the practices related to instrumental balance, ways of distinguishing more experienced and technically able students from the rest of the group, and non-musical rewards, in order to maintain student interest.

The third teacher (Mr. Smith at Davisville School) implemented size-related practices (i.e., movement between instruments and limited multi-instrumentalism, depending upon group size) and had, in the past, encouraged the formation of a small group (a jazz combo) and arranged pieces for it, when his class was too small to play the standard literature. With the exception of size-dependent movement, his strategies were

similar to those of the two teachers mentioned above when faced with a similar situation. At the time of this study there were more than enough students enrolled in his program so that he did not have to deal with the fundamental problem associated with teaching Instrumental Music in a small school: insufficient enrollment to address the standard literature for the wind-percussion ensemble.

The fourth teacher (Mr. Stuart at Louisville School) did not have classroom strategies to deal with low enrollment, preferring to focus on his program's long-term enrollment issues instead. In the face of classroom challenges he continued to use conventional practices even though they were not working.

In short, most teachers both recognized the problems inherent in teaching Instrumental Music in low enrollment situations and developed strategies to address them. The strategies used were remarkably similar, even though the way in which they were implemented varied with the resources (i.e., the cultural capitals) the teachers had and the context within which they practiced. One teacher did not recognize the problem as it pertained to the classroom and thus continued to teach in a conventional manner.

Adequacy of the Conceptual Framework

In establishing a conceptual framework for this study, I adopted Pierre Bourdieu's theory of practice, with some refinements. Bourdieu identified broad areas for the investigation of practice, namely habitus, capital, and field. It is through this model that I came to understand the Instrumental Music curriculum's assumptive requirement of adherence to ensemble convention as a predisposition, or habitus, shared by the four music teachers whose practices I examined; and also that the successful implementation

of the curriculum, which can be seen as embodying aspects of the habitus acquired by musicians schooled in the European tradition, is context dependent. When that context changes, the predisposition can be challenged; the teacher must choose either to change his or her practices to accommodate the field, or to ignore the field and thereby remove any chance of success while practicing in it.

There is, in the practice of all of the teachers investigated for this study, recognition that the wind-percussion model is sanctioned by the curriculum. This study shows that the curricular model based on the conventional wind-percussion ensemble is inappropriate to low enrollment situations and, indeed, puts teachers in a bind: Though they may have to deviate from the conventional model because of insufficient human resources, they nonetheless attempt to meet the curricular requirements associated with the model as much as possible. This comes at a cost, for when the real field of practice in which teachers work deviates from the ideal field of practice assumed by the curriculum, teachers are faced with the following choices: (a) they can internalize the problem (i.e. they can blame themselves and their lack of appropriate capital); (b) they can externalize it (i.e., they can blame contextual variables like community standards with respect to valuation of the arts); or (c) they can adapt both the materials that they have available to them and their own standards of success, to the human resources at hand. In short: to be effective in low enrollment situations teachers must adapt.

Bourdieu's model has demonstrated its utility, in spite of the ambiguity associated with his terminology. By using his model one can provide an explanatory narrative. In every instance a teacher's practice could be understood to reflect the teacher's habitus and capital, and the field within which that teacher practiced. Bourdieu's theory is

intuitively appealing; it was because of this intuitive appeal that I appropriated the theory in the first place.

While Bourdieu explicitly recognizes the importance of time as a variable in social theory elsewhere, his omission of time as factor in the theory used in this analysis is problematic. Clearly practice changes over time. This claim is not a conjecture; it is a finding of this study. The implication of this fact is that habitus, capital and/or field, must also change over time. Although practice may change over time, the range of that change is limited by the stability of the other variables in the theory, all of which are collectively constituted. Practice is never practiced alone; it is embedded within a series of related practices. An individual's capital only functions as capital when it is recognized as such by a social collective that values the capital to a greater or lesser extent.

The malleability of these constructs makes their use problematic. Though definable, they are not specifiable. Certainty eludes us; we cannot definitely know how a teacher will conduct her practice before she conducts it, for if we assume that we know all there is to know about the teacher's habitus and capital, and the field in which that teacher practices we are mistaken. In short, the theory does not provide guidance for selecting the details on which to focus nor does it show the way they may be weighted in the final equation. Thus its usefulness is of a primarily descriptive nature. While it provides a model of practice description, it cannot be used as a model of practice selection; that is, based on his model, one cannot determine which adaptations or new practices would be appropriate and how they might fit together to form a model for praxis in low enrollment contexts.

In Search of a Model of Praxis for Low Enrollment Contexts

Criteria for an Appropriate Model

Because acquiring the human resources necessary for the successful establishment of the conventional wind-percussion ensemble is problematic in small schools, a model that is more appropriate to the available resources ought to be considered. To find such a model requires looking at what occurs in the performance of a piece of music.

The model I went searching for had to meet three criteria. The first criterion is that the model had to acknowledge the importance of context, thereby implicitly honoring the music performance results of low enrollment situations as much as those of its more conventional counterparts. This first criterion is easily met by the work of David Elliott, in particular by his Praxiological Model of Music Education (1995).

Elliott understood music to be a social construct and believed in the importance of context as a formative influence in the development of musical praxis; he recognized that musical practice is always situated within a social context that varies over time and space. As described in Chapter One of this dissertation, his model has four dimensions: (a) music, (b) musicer (the player of that music), (c) musicing (the activity of making music), and (d) the context. It is the notion of musicing that is of interest here.

If one accepts Elliott's praxiological model, as opposed to assuming a universal aesthetic, two complementary issues are addressed: the issue of the cultural relevance of music and the issue of teacher effectiveness. In those instances where the activity of making music was successfully accomplished to the standards of the students (i.e., at Stevensville, Thomasville, and Davisville Schools), the question of the cultural relevance of the music being performed was moot; the students' interest in musicing outweighed

their interest in the music per se. In that instance where the students' ability to make music was problematic (i.e., at Louisville School), it was just this inability to perform that undermined the effectiveness of the teacher. I suggest that Mrs. Daniels and Mr. Parker both intuitively recognized the importance of musicing and that their practices reflected this recognition. Although Mr. Stuart may have recognized the importance of musicing, he stuck doggedly to the curricular model, even though he recognized the incongruity between the human resources required by this model and the resources available to him.

While Elliott's model successfully accounts for the performances I observed, it does not meet the other two criteria I have posited as essential: (a) the model has to allow for, and hopefully inspire, the development of performance-oriented practices, both in terms of product (i.e., achieving the desired outcome in terms of musical performance) and process (i.e., the manner in which the interaction of the music and the musicers becomes musicing); and (b) it has to be capable of including all the practices or strategies that teachers in low enrollment situations in this study had used with success.

Basing the Model on Actual Practice

The inspiration for developing such a model came from two sources: (a) my observations of Mr. Smith's size-dependent practices related to movement through space and rotation across instruments, and (b) Mr. Parker's use of hand chimes. I will consider Mr. Smith's practice first.

Recall that Mr. Smith adopted different practices for each of the three different sized groups that he taught. He assumed a predominantly stationary position for the conventional wind-percussion ensemble, the largest group he taught. He moved

throughout the class in a circular pattern in the sectional rehearsals (i.e., the mid-sized group), and he had some students rotate through different instruments (a form of multi-instrumentalism) for the smallest group he taught (i.e., the jazz combo).

The closest analogy I found that could account for the differences in these practices across different-sized groups is in models of assembly in the manufacture of goods. In terms of the largest group Mr. Smith taught, which had sufficient players to meet all the criteria for the conventional wind-percussion ensemble: the ensemble consisted of a group of players each of whom is narrowly specialized; taken individually, each specialized part is one small fragment of the whole. These parts were synchronized and coordinated through one individual, the music teacher (or ensemble conductor). As in assembly line models, timing is critical: each small fragment of a task was determined, by the musical score, to the second. The result was the product: the performance of a piece of music. The standards for the production of that product are based on conventions associated with the wind-percussion ensemble, the archetype of which is the ensemble of instruments required to perform Holst's *First Suite in E Flat for Military Band* (1909).

Compare this description to that of Gorz (1999) in describing the Fordist model of manufacturing:

> In [the Fordist] mode, work was broken down into narrowly specialized, unskilled tasks performed on long assembly lines designed for the mass production of standardized products. That means long lead times to plan and develop new products, given the rigidity of the organization of production and the narrow specialization of the labour force. There was a rigid, quasi-military hierarchy and hosts of supervisory staff to oversee the workers, all of them isolated at their respective work stations, with the synchronization and co-ordination of the fragmented tasks organized and imposed by the overseers. Production targets and the time allotted to each fragmentary task (determined to the hundredth of a second) were further sources of in-built rigidity, with every delay at one work station impacting on the whole of the line. Moreover, there were high levels of

> stock and warehousing costs and a large number of staff, representing around a quarter of the company's labour force, who were not directly productive. (p. 28)

By comparing this Fordist model to what happens in the conventional wind-percussion ensemble, the similarities become apparent. Whereas Gorz suggested that the Fordist model requires narrowly specialized, unskilled tasks, the wind-percussion ensemble requires narrowly specialized but highly skilled tasks. The performance of a wind-percussion ensemble does not result in mass production in the sense that there are multiple copies of a product produced at any one time; but from an historical perspective, the individual performances of different wind-percussion ensembles playing the same piece can be construed as a kind of cultural mass (re)production. It is just this cultural mass (re)production that a standardized literature is meant to produce. The fact that the archetype of the wind-percussion ensemble is based on that for Holst's *First Suite in E Flat for Military Band*, doubtlessly implicates a rigid, quasi-military hierarchy. In such an ensemble the "synchronization and co-ordination of the fragmented tasks" is facilitated by one individual, rather than by hosts of supervisory staff. Clearly, as with almost all musical products, the "time allotted to each fragmentary task" is "determined to the hundredth of a second." The Fordist model and the model of production that is at the core of the wind-percussion ensemble are not identical, but there are enough similarities to make one take note.

The strengths and weaknesses of applying this model are most evident in examining the size-dependent practices of Mr. Smith. Here the Fordist model is most applicable to his work with the largest group (i.e., the conventional wind-percussion ensemble). Mr. Smith's practice deviated from the Fordist model as group size changed. In mid-sized groupings (i.e., sectionals) each player retained a specialized role. However,

because there were a sufficient number of students there were groups of them that had similar tasks (e.g., first trombones, second trombones, etc.). Mr. Smith recognized this in his practice by physically moving to and playing with each section in turn. Again, as was case in the larger conventional wind-percussion ensemble, these parts or players were synchronized and coordinated through one individual: the music teacher. However, rather than direct them from the front of the room, Mr. Smith stood behind each section and played with and over the students as they played. The resulting product was not a complete musical work; it was the partial performance of a complete musical work. The standards for the production of that product were still based on the wind-percussion convention, though the means by which that production had been achieved had deviated.

With the smallest ensemble, the senior combo of seven players, Mr. Smith's practice changed yet again. Though there was still a group of players, each of whom fulfilled a unique musical function, certain aspects of specialization were at issue. Mr. Smith departed from the conventional instrumentation of the rhythm section that one normally associates with a small jazz ensemble (i.e., piano, bass, and drums) by electing not to have either a bassist or a bass guitarist. Because the bass line is an indisputably essential musical function in such a combo, he required the use of an alternative instrument on which to play it; he assigned it to a keyboard instrument. Because he assigned the bass line to a specific keyboard instrument, the students who played keyboards had to move from one instrument to the other if and whenever they changed musical functions (i.e., whenever they switched from the bass function to the harmonic function or vice-versa). Mr. Smith's practice suggests that the choice of instrumentation as well as group size affects teaching strategy in terms of student movement.

Mr. Smith's pattern of movement in the small jazz combo differed from his pattern of movement in the sectional rehearsals. He remained stationary, as he would in the conventional, large ensemble, but his position relative to the group was not one of opposition but one of integration: he physically integrated his position within the group, rather than standing in front of it.

As was the case with the conventional ensemble, the players were directed by one individual: the music teacher in the role of team leader. Again, as in the performance of all music, timing was critical; but here, more than anywhere else, improvisation was the order of the day. The resulting product was a piece of music in which some aspects of the composition were predetermined (e.g., harmonic and rhythmic structures) while others (e.g., improvised melodic lines) were not.

Again, the closest analogy I found was in the literature concerned with manufacturing, in discussions about the evolution of assembly processes from the Fordist model to that of Japanese manufacturing enterprises, known as the Toyota or Ohno System (after its inventor, Taiichi Ohno). Observing that the fundamental question which Ohno addressed was how to improve the quality and not the quantity of a product, Gorz suggests that

> One of [the] . . . essential principles [of his response] . . . was that a broad measure of worker self-management of the production process is indispensable to achieve maximum flexibility, productivity and speed in both the development of techniques and the adjustment of production to demand. Whereas, for Taylorism [i.e. the Fordist model previously described], the self-organization, ingenuity and creativity of the workers were to be combated as the source of all dangers of rebellion and disorder, for Toyotism these things were a resource to be developed and exploited. The total and entirely repressive domination of the worker's personality was to be replaced by the total mobilization of that personality. The rigidly fixed techniques imposed on the operatives from above were to be swept away and replaced by "*kaizen*," the continual adjustment and improvement of the manufacturing process by the workers themselves. Only such an absence of

> formal direction allows the kind of spontaneous and flexible "productive cooperation" to take place which will yield flexibility in production, optimum time-management and the harmonization of each stage of the manufacturing process with the preceding ones – in a word "*kan-ban*."
>
> The workers must understand what they are doing. Indeed, they must (in theory) come to grasp the complete manufacturing process and system as an intelligible whole. They must "own" that system, control it and feel in command of its workings. They must think about ways of improving and rationalizing product design. They must reflect on possible improvements to procedures and to the overall organization of the system. To this end, they must consult and engage in discussion; they must be able to express themselves and listen; they must be ready to question their own assumptions, to learn, and to develop continually. (Gorz, 1999, p. 30; italics in the original)

It is the last paragraph of Gorz's quote that ought to be particularly resonant for the music teacher. Like other teachers, music teachers should be concerned that their students "understand what they are doing." Any ensemble performance will be improved if the individual members of the ensemble "come to grasp the complete [musical] process and system as an intelligible whole." The members of an ensemble ought to know what the other members of the ensemble are doing at all times, and how the activities of those other members interconnect with their own to produce that musical product that they are mutually engaged in producing. It was just the realization of this expectation that Mr. Parker found when he had his Instrumental Music students play the hand chimes instead of their conventional instruments.

One can see similarities in the model described above, the strategies used by teachers in low enrollment situations, and Mr. Smith's size-dependent practices: (a) the exploitation of student rescurces through the use of multi-instrumentalism [a practice that I believe could be brought to greater fruition if the teachers realized the degree to which multi-instrumentalists existed in the student body]; (b) the potential use of any practice that most appropriately fits the context and that could maximize production quality (e.g.,

changing the approach to the literature, the use of unconventional instruments); (c) an honoring of players' (i.e., students') resources as a means of maintaining interest; and perhaps most importantly, (d) an emphasis on group engagement (e.g., multi-instrumentalism and physical movement as means to broaden each student's experience with and understanding of the piece) to optimize group harmony by ensuring each player's understanding of the whole musical object.

The most significant finding of this study is that there is evidence of an evolving model of praxis for low enrollment contexts based on the teaching practices of some teachers of Instrumental Music in small schools in Alberta; one that requires students to play more than one instrument and to change musical functions within the ensembles of which they are members. The approach or model is similar in some respects to the manufacturing model employed in the Volvo plant in Uddevalla, Sweden between the years 1989 and 1993. Gorz argued that this is the apotheosis of the post-Fordist model. He described the plant process as follows:

> Uddevalla was organized into working groups nine-strong, with eight assembly workers and one person responsible for liaising with the stores. Depending on the wishes and aptitudes of its members, a group could assemble a quarter, a half, three-quarters or the whole of a vehicle . . . . A bonus system provided an incentive for the workers to learn to assemble a complete car. Each of the eight members of the team had to master at least one-quarter (i.e., two-eighths) of the range of operations in order to be able to form a team with another member and be interchangeable with him/her, thus varying the work even more. The group also had to be able to function if, for some reason, one or two of its members were absent. (p. 33)

In this way, workers were able to do their work at their own speed as opposed to meeting imposed time needs from a central source; each worker had a varied, complex set of tasks rather than more repetitive, monotonous ones; and aspects of the process normally

undertaken by supervisory staff was integrated into the workers' tasks. [Paraphrased from Gorz, pp. 32-33]

Using the Volvo Uddevalla model as a paradigm seems particularly appropriate. Recall that the teachers noted difficulties that were especially apparent in small groups where there are vast differences in skill and experience (e.g., between senior and junior students). Essentially one either favors the more skilled, leaving the others behind and thus dissatisfied and likely to drop out; or one favors the less skilled, boring the more experienced players and thus increasing their chances of dropping out. How then do you maintain the interest of the more senior students without making the process too challenging for the junior ones thereby losing their interest? I turn now to the second source of inspiration in developing a model of praxis for low enrollment contexts: Mr. Parker's use of hand chimes in his senior instrumental music classes.

The use of the hand chimes allowed the students to move from one set of instruments and from one musical function to another as they worked on different pieces. The practice of switching from one instrument to another is conceptually very similar to Mr. Smith's practice related to keyboard and percussion use in his small jazz combo. This strategy allowed Mr. Parker to address one of the basic issues for a teacher of Instrumental Music with limited instrumental resources: What music is available for students to perform when there are not enough of them available to perform the standard literature for wind-percussion ensemble?

Mr. Parker's strategy is interesting because it minimized the issue of technique. Most, if not all, Instrumental Music teachers who work with beginning instrumental music students will recognize that tone production is among the first of the major

problems that they have to overcome; some students simply never overcome this obstacle. However the problem of tone production is not the same for all instruments. Most children who are healthy, both physically and mentally, can successfully produce a musically satisfying sound on percussion and keyboard instruments when they first interact with them; to a lesser extent, they can also do so on fretted stringed instruments. This is not the case for wind instruments (i.e., the basic elements of the wind-percussion ensemble).

Mr. Parker's choice of the hand chimes as a medium of instruction meant that he could focus on the activity of playing music and the music itself, as opposed to the problem of tone production. By switching to hand chimes Mr. Parker's students could become active musicers immediately. The switch to hand chimes from their usual instruments meant that his students were all dealing with the same technical problems at the same time. This switch was a great equalizer for the following reason: In small groups with varying levels of technical skill and experience the problems associated with differing levels of individual performance skills become more marked. Having the teacher focus on those particular problems stymies the group as a whole, for primary attention then needs to be given to the problematic individual rather than to the needs of the group. The ability of others in the group to learn from such a process is hampered by the high level of specialization required for individual instruments; the playing of each instrument is associated with specific needs and problems that cannot be generalized to the group as a whole. In Mr. Parker's case, the disparities that existed between students with respect to their technical facility on a particular instrument were minimized when all of the students switched to the same instrument simultaneously.

Mr. Parker's strategy can be seen as being consistent with Elliott's praxiological model in that he moved from a concern with music as the primary focus of his thinking (i.e., the question of what music his students should play) to the act of musicing. He did not stumble over the question of whether the music that is being played is consistent with curricular guidelines – it is clearly not. Instead he focused on what his students could do. By circumventing specific and unattainable curricular requirements in this way, Mr. Parker effectively achieved the larger goals of the curriculum.

Mr. Parker's strategies were paralleled to a certain extent in Mrs. Daniels' practices. Mrs. Daniels encouraged her students to play more than one instrument and she had them switch instruments to cover parts when she had the students who were willing to and capable of playing more than one instrument. I suggest that the findings of my student questionnaire indicate a capability of students to perform on more than one instrument that is generally not recognized nor systematically exploited in most Instrumental Music classes. If there is an expectation that students in Instrumental Music classes play more than one instrument, there is the possibility of structuring those classes in a way that avoids the obstacles to acquiring musical knowledge and competence that are created when one limits the technical access that students have to the music that they are studying.

In short, the practices I have described, particularly though not exclusively Mr. Parker's use of hand chimes, are solutions to the teaching of Instrumental Music in low enrollment contexts that have great benefit. Not only do they honor the need to adequately handle the interests of students at different levels of ability and experience,

but also they succeed in facilitating an understanding of the whole that is characteristic of strong group performance.

Therefore, an instrumental music program that borrows the most appropriate aspects of the Uddevalla model, along with the practices of Mr. Smith, Mr. Parker, and to some extent, Mrs. Daniels, could circumvent some of the problems associated with the implementation of Instrumental Music classes in small schools.

An Emergent Model for Low Enrollment Contexts

When this hybrid of assembly model plus musical praxis is applied to the teaching of Instrumental Music, ensemble music can be deconstructed into its essential elements or functions. There are four: (a) the rhythmic (meaning non-melodic) function, (b) the melodic function, (c) the harmonic function (which appears when two melodic lines occur simultaneously), and (d) the bass function (i.e., the melodic-harmonic function which appears when two melodic lines are differentiated in range with one voice, the lower voice, assuming a structurally supportive role). The first two functions (rhythmic and melodic) can be considered to be primary; and the latter two functions (harmonic and bass) secondary, because they appear after the primary functions have been established. Of the two primary functions, the rhythmic and the melodic, the former is fundamental, because rhythmic structures cannot be reduced or collapsed without creating new rhythmic structures, whereas melodic structures can be collapsed to rhythmic ones. The rhythmic structure provides the fundamental musical context within which the other functions operate.

Students ought to be able to perform all musical functions. The obvious starting point is with the rhythmic function because of its contextual nature. The other primary function – the melodic function – should be taught after the students have some fluency with the rhythmic function. Once a student has learned to perform that function, the two secondary functions (i.e., the harmonic and bass) have also, in principle, been attained because they are derivative of the primary functions. Within the two secondary functions, the bass can be considered the more fundamental because of its structurally supportive role. Therefore, it makes sense to take each in turn, starting with teaching the bass and then the harmonic functions. A schematic model of this proposed strategy is presented in Figure 1.

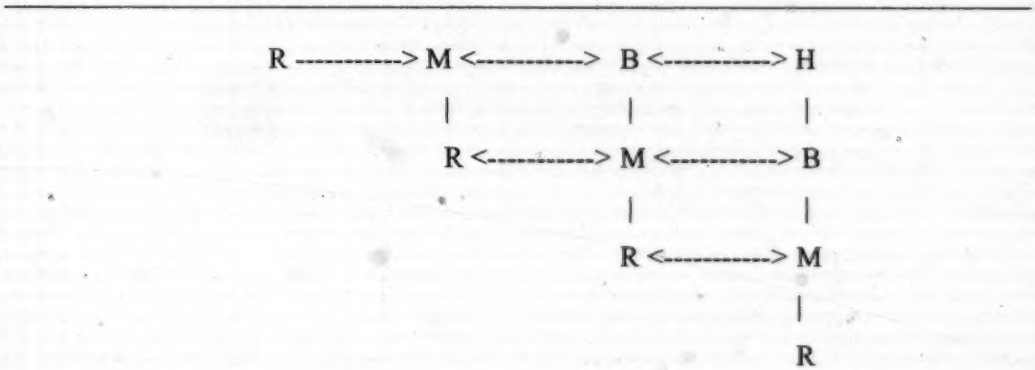

Figure 1. A schematic model of an instructional strategy for low enrollment Instrumental Music programs, showing the progression of functions.

Note. R = Rhythmic function, M = Melodic function, B = Bass function, H = Harmonic function

What is envisioned is a system based on the principle of group engagement. To achieve group engagement (i.e., a full understanding of the operation of the whole), all students would learn to play all the parts to any given piece of music. They would first

learn to play purely rhythmic music (i.e., music for non-pitched percussion instruments). Once some facility on non-pitched instruments is attained, they would then learn to play pitched percussion instruments (i.e., the keyboard mallet instruments) and the keyboard instruments. Students would then have the ability to alternate between the two primary musical functions. Half of the class could play rhythmic parts (i.e., non-pitched parts) while the other half of the class could play melodic parts. They would switch functions periodically.

Once melodic facility is attained, the two secondary music functions are obtainable immediately, though the addition of the last two functions would be staggered. Ultimately, once facility has been attained on all four musical functions, students could be expected to rotate through them all.

In a small school, enough instruments could be procured so that all students could learn all the parts simultaneously. Percussionists in particular are used to practicing on practice instruments (i.e., practice pads) or alternative instruments (e.g., learning marimba parts on the glockenspiel or vice versa). A class of 16 students could all learn a given melodic passage on a group of four electronic keyboards, two marimbas, two vibraphones, two xylophones, and two glockenspiels, if three students played on each marimba. If for some reason a particular musical passage was presenting problems to one student, all of the students could practice that part on a melodic instrument. Group entrainment (i.e., the achievement of one, consistent product) would result; and productivity within the class would be substantially increased, for rather than focusing on the so-called problem student, the focus would be on the achievement of a total product by the group as a whole.

Given that students most frequently express interest in playing keyboards, guitar or percussion, it would not be unreasonable to expect all students to acquire some competence on all of these instruments and to focus on two of them. Students could then play keyboards and guitar, keyboards and percussion, or guitar and percussion. They would begin to learn the guitar only after they had acquired some skill on percussion and keyboard instruments. This would circumvent some of the problems encountered in guitar classes, where students are often unfamiliar with standard notation and do not know how to practice.

Ultimately what is envisioned is the possibility of a quartet of quartets, with each member of each quartet being able to fulfill any of the four musical functions. In this way a music class could meet some of a school's needs with respect to public performance without surrendering completely to those requirements.

This emergent model meets the three criteria I specified. The first criterion is that the model had to acknowledge the importance of context, thereby implicitly honoring the music performance results of low enrollment situations as much as those of its more conventional counterpart. The second criterion is that the model allowed for, and hopefully inspired, the development of performance-oriented practices, both in terms of product (i.e., achieving the desired outcome in terms of musical performance) and process (i.e., the manner in which the interaction of the music and the musicers becomes musicing); the narrative associated with Figure 1 is one example. And the third criterion is that the model had to be capable of including all the practices or strategies that teachers in low enrollment situations in this study had used with success. To review: these strategies include multi-instrumentalism; changing the approach to the literature; using

unconventional instrumentation; and the strategies addressing varied levels of technical expertise simultaneously, along with the other group engagement strategies of student movement and rotation through the musical functions. There is one area of strategy that the model does not explicitly address: focusing on positive opportunities for public performance and withdrawal from musical festivals, in order to provide appropriate validation for students and teachers. I will return to this in the context of looking at the overall curricular objectives of Alberta's Instrumental Music programs.

What I am proposing is a radical departure from the dominant implementation strategies related to Alberta's Instrumental Music curriculum. In assessing the validity of this proposal, an important question needs to be raised: What is the purpose of teaching Instrumental Music in the schools? The Instrumental Music 10-20-30 Curriculum states:

> The systematic development of musical skills, knowledge and perception contributes to the total development of the individual. Music is accessible to all, and as students become sensitive to its expressive elements, they may develop insight into human feelings. (Alberta Learning, 1991, p. 1)

Though the curriculum requires that Instrumental Music programs in Alberta's schools involve either wind-percussion or strings, the conventions associated with this requirement make the achievement of the curriculum's broadly defined goals problematic in low enrollment contexts. I suggest that these overall goals can best be met by adopting the objective of Elliott's Praxiological Model of Music Education (1995), a model that has much in common with the constructivist position advocated by Chen (2000) and Shively (2002). As previously stated, Elliott's model recognizes the importance of musicing. And if musicing is considered the fundamental objective of Instrumental Music programs in Alberta, then the praxiological model inspired by actual teacher practice and somewhat reminiscent of the Uddevalla experience has merit. If, however, the goals are

embedded in the realization of a universal aesthetic, teachers of low enrollment Instrumental Music classes can only produce mediocre performances that never measure up to conventional standard.

Avoidance of adjudicated festivals is a strategy that reflects the teachers' understanding of the role of musicing in the formation of the field in which the teacher practices. Teachers practice in a field that overlaps the fields of practice of their students. People generally do not position themselves in fields of practice over extended periods of time, if they do not receive some kind of reward for their engagement in that field. In the interest of preserving their students' motivation to continue in Instrumental Music, their students' sense of self-worth, and their own sense of accomplishment, Mrs. Daniels and Mr. Parker avoided music festivals. Prior experience led them to believe that their students would be judged harshly using criteria that indirectly included the size of their ensembles and which could be construed as unfair. Both teachers clearly recognized that perceived continuous failure at music festivals could have a negative impact on their students, on their programs, and ultimately, on themselves. By uncoupling the overall curricular objective from the means by which it is achieved, one can set in place the opportunity for new standards or conventions to evolve that are applicable to low enrollment situations.

The Significance of These Findings

To this point, I have reached three conclusions. My first conclusion: Teachers in low enrollment situations tend to recognize them as problematic. Faced with such situations, these teachers tend to adapt. Adaptation comes at a cost: the abandonment of

curricular conventions or standards in order to achieve curricular objectives. My second conclusion: Bourdieu's model adequately describes the resultant praxis, but does not provide us with guidance on which practices to select or an overall framework of classroom practice within which they can be embedded. My third conclusion: The findings about low enrollment strategies suggest the development of an evolving model that is predicated on the uncoupling of curricular objectives from the conventions of curricular implementation. This evolving model deconstructs the process of musicing and shows how musical functions can be taught in a way that could be appropriate for low enrollment contexts. This model is inspired by Elliott's Praxiological Model of Music Education, particularly as it relates to the contextual basis of musicing; the post-Fordist Volvo assembly model at Uddevalla; and the innovations in practice by the music teachers themselves.

One might ask: How representative are these four cases, of the practice of Instrumental Music programs in Alberta schools? Carspecken (1996) suggested that a comparative ethnography could be based on as little as two cases. This condition has been met. However, standards of qualitative and quantitative studies differ in kind and thus a population of two cases or four, is far from sufficient to make sweeping claims.

The implications of uncoupling the curricular objective from the conventions by which it is implemented, and of using a model of music education specifically developed for low enrollment situations and grounded in actual praxis in that context, cannot be dismissed. In short, a low enrollment problem of this magnitude deserves further study.

Suggestions for Further Research

There are at least five other issues that deserve further study. Each is described in turn.

The first issue deals with strategies for teaching music in small schools. Though a replication of this study is not possible, similar studies should be pursued. It is important that neophyte music teachers, in particular, be informed about useful strategies for teaching in a small school. Moreover, questions about the differences in the implementation of the curriculum in small compared to large schools have not been addressed and should be.

The second issue deals with the discontinuity in Instrumental Music programs. This study was justified in part because of the apparent difficulty of establishing Instrumental Music programs in small schools in Alberta. This difficulty is evident in the number of Instrumental Music programs that experience discontinuity. Whether or not this phenomenon is particular to Alberta is unknown. The frequency of discontinuity in Instrumental Music programs outside of the province should be studied.

The third issue deals with the implications of multi-instrumentalism. Prior to conducting this study I had not considered the possibility of systematically utilizing students' capabilities of playing more than one instrument. As a practicing music teacher I have always routinely inquired about whether my students had any experience playing instruments other than the instruments that they played in band; but I have not used those abilities to increase the range of literature that the ensembles, of which these students are members, play. As a result, the extent of multi-instrumentalism in the student bodies studied was somewhat surprising, for it represents an unexploited resource. It would be

interesting to know the relationship between students' curricular and extracurricular musical activities and, in particular, the extent to which students are multi-instrumentalists. This information could be used within a program to expedite the acquisition of some concepts. It could also be used to argue for the possibility of developing an alternative to the heterogeneous instrumental group instruction which I suspect is used in most Instrumental Music classes in Alberta.

The fourth issue deals with the value of heterogeneous compared to homogeneous instrumental group instruction. All of the Instrumental Music classes that were observed for this study used conventional heterogeneous instrumental groupings, that is, students elected to play one of a limited number of instruments prescribed in the curriculum. The possibility of using homogeneous instrumental groupings does not seem to have been considered, except, in a limited sense, in Davisville School where instruments were grouped into families for the purposes of sectional rehearsals. Homogeneous instrumental groupings are generally recognized as pedagogically more efficient than heterogeneous ones (Colwell & Goolsby, 1992; Kohut, 1973). It would be of value to know to if there are schools in Alberta, or elsewhere in Canada, in which teachers instruct their students in homogeneous instrumental groups and, if so, how different instrumental groupings affect the acquisition of both skills and concepts.

The fifth and final issue deals with movement. I was not prepared for what I consider to be one of the more interesting findings of this study: that there are important differences in the manner and the extent to which teachers move about their classrooms. The reasons for these differences and their impact on the quality of class instruction are largely unknown. Further study of this aspect of music teaching is warranted.

In terms of movement, consideration should also be given to questions of epistemology. There appears to be a kind of latent theory of knowledge in the practice of the music teachers whom I observed for this study; knowledge for most music teachers would appear to be a function of physical movement. This makes intuitive sense, because the body is the perhaps the musician's most fundamental instrument. Traditional forms of music cannot be produced without the musician's body interacting physically with an instrument. In the case of singers, who do not necessarily play an instrument per se, the singer's body is the instrument. Posture, which can be conceived of as the positioning of the body relative to itself, is, or ought to be, a fundamental concern of most music teachers. Most music teachers recognize that in order for a musician to perform effectively the musician's body must be positioned so as to minimize stress and to maximize the efficacy of physical movement. My interest in the body in the music classroom extends to include an interest in the positioning and movement of the bodies of the teacher and of her students in and through the classroom as a means of effecting the acquisition of musical knowledge. One could posit such epistemological questions as: What does it meant to know a piece of music? What kinds of behaviors do music teachers accept as evidence of musical knowledge?

A suggested teaching practice

As I noted earlier none of the teachers whose practice was observed for this dissertation examined the scores to the compositions that their bands performed with their students. The access that the students had to the music they performed, with the exception of their own part, was exclusively aural. In order to perform most effectively performers

should be conscious of all of the component parts of the piece that is being performed and they should be conscious of the relationships that exist between those component parts. Perhaps the simplest and most effective way of drawing students' attention to these relationships is to have the students examine the scores to the compositions that they are preparing for performance under the direction of their music teacher.

Bourdieu and Elliott: Recapitulation, and Coda (Riffing on a Theme)

Given that Bourdieu's theory of practice and Elliott's praxiological theory of music education form the conceptual framework for this dissertation I would like to return to these theories to advance some thoughts about social theory and music education.

On first reading, Bourdieu's work seems to embrace the Marxist notion of dominant and dominated social segments differentiated on the basis of the relationship to the means of production. In opposition to this interpretation Brubaker argues that

> The conceptual space within which Bourdieu defines class is not that of relations of production, but that of social relations in general. Class divisions are defined not by differing relations to the means of production, but by differing conditions of existence, differing systems of dispositions produced by differential conditioning, and differing endowments of power or capital. (2004, p. 46)

My appropriation of Bourdieu's concept of symbolic violence to music required that I abandon the idea of *meaning* in favor of the idea of *meanings*. This has important consequences when juxtaposed with Elliott's concept of *musics*. On the praxiological view the *meaning* of a piece of music is dependent upon its context and the relationship between the music and the musicer. A piece of music has *meanings* and not simply *a meaning*; one of the meanings of a piece of music has to do with the identity of the

musicer. Identity is signaled to the musicer and others on the basis of the musicer's relationship to the piece of music. Part of that identity is group membership.

Given that the formation of students' social and cultural identities begins at birth and is in the process of developing well before the students are institutionalized in school settings, it is not surprising that students, by and large, reject the music that is presented to them as legitimate by the schools. The music with which the majority of students are familiar is not the music that they encounter in schools. In order to accept the music that they encounter in schools as legitimate, students must first repudiate the legitimacy of the music with which they are familiar, i.e. the music that was instrumental in the formation of their identity.

Bourdieu would argue that a majority of the schools' stakeholders do not understand either the historical genesis of institutionalized instrumental music programs or the misrepresentation – which Bourdieu would characterize as misrecognition – by the music education community of the music associated with those programs. This music has historically been represented by its advocates as the embodiment of a universalized aesthetic. But Bourdieu's *Distinction*, at its most fundamental level, is a repudiation of Kantian and universalist transcendent notions of aesthetics. (Solerno, 2004) Bourdieu would see the historical genesis of institutionalized music as an attempt by a culturally distinct group – a group distinguished by its possession of a set of technical skills – in preserving the economic value of its cultural capital.

Music, as it is practiced in schools, is a marginalized practice because its practice marginalizes students. But this marginalization is not total. There are students whose identities are constructed around music as it is practiced in institutional settings and these

students can continue the maintenance of their identities, acquired through the habitus associated with the forms of music practiced within institutional settings, only in institutional settings. This becomes problematic when those students become teachers – and thus continue their institutionalization – when, as teachers, they find themselves in institutional settings where the marginalization of music contributes to their own marginalization. Students become teachers whose identity is, at least in part, constituted through the act of performing music. Performing is only one of several different modes of musicing recognized by Elliott, and it is not *the* dominant mode of musicing. The dominant, in the sense of most frequent, mode of musicing is listening.

Human beings are inveterate listeners. One social theorist, here I am obviously thinking of Habermas (1984), argues that society is constituted through communicative action. The forms of communicative action through which social fields can be constituted include, but are not necessarily limited to, linguistic action, physical action (i.e. sports), and "aesthetic" action (i.e. music, visual arts, etc.). The fields constituted through these forms of communicative action are separate fields. But individuals do not participate in only one field. Individuals who identify themselves as musicians, and who thereby stake a claim to a position within a specific field, do not through this staking of claim abandon their position within other fields. The dominant field, the field with the largest number of players, is the field constituted through linguistic action.

Bourdieu argued that, at least in France in the 1960s, the dominant class reproduced its dominance through the imposition of specific cultural meanings; he identified the mechanism of this imposition as symbolic violence. Symbolic violence is the mechanism par excellence for distinguishing position within the field of linguistic action. Now the

dominant class is not homogenous. Indeed the particular interests of individual members of the dominant class can be diametrically opposed. Individuals who attempt to occupy privileged positions in the same social field, e.g. the field of politics, necessarily find themselves in opposition to other individuals with whom they share the same aspirations. The resolution of this opposition requires competition between the opposing interests. This competition is facilitated through symbolic violence. When symbolic violence fails to resolve the conflicts that exist between opposing interests, the persons whose interests are implicated may resort to physical violence to resolve those conflicts.

Individuals who occupy privileged positions within social fields defined by differing kinds of communicative action are not necessarily diametrically opposed though they may of course be opposed when they express their views within the same field. In as much as there are several concurrently existing independent fields, all of which are susceptible to hierarchical differentiation on the basis of competition, a new class, the class constituted by the members of each class who occupy dominant positions within their respective fields, emerges. We thus come full circle to Bourdieu's notion of a dominant and subordinate class. Moreover the possibility of a cultural arbitrary, a system of cultural artifacts representing the interests of the dominant members of a number of different fields, and thus differently constituted but nonetheless the same, reemerges.

What I am trying to argue here is that notwithstanding my initial skepticism with regards to the concept of the cultural arbitrary I find myself in agreement with this concept, though, as I suggest immediately above, my understanding of it differs in detail but not in general thrust from Bourdieu's.

To this point in this the final section of my dissertation I have struggled to articulate a coherent understanding of Bourdieu's concept of the cultural arbitrary. I now turn towards Elliott.

Elliott's great contribution to music education is the articulation of a theory of music education as praxis. As a theory of praxis Elliott's theory of music education has much in common with Bourdieu's social theories which are also praxiological. Elliott draws our attention to the existence of musics as opposed to music; he suggests that there are a number of different practices that can be identified as music as opposed to the existence of music as a unitary phenomenon. If this is the case, and it is an intuitively appealing argument as it explains my father's assertions that the sounds that I listened to as an adolescent could not be called music, then we are presented with the problem of explaining how a single form of music – the music of the wind-percussion ensemble – comes to occupy a privileged position in the curriculum.

The best solution to this problem is to be found in Bourdieu's claims of the cultural arbitrary. The music of the wind-percussion ensemble is music which is not singular; it is the product of a system, a system which allows for the privileging of certain positions through competition. This competition can be seen as an extension of symbolic violence and hence as legitimate. This system also allows for commodification and this commodification is in the economic interests of a large number of stakeholders. The commodification works against the interests of those stakeholders who do not have the means, either human or economic, to meet the requirements of the system. Those practitioners who practice in a context that does not have the resources required by the field, as defined by the curriculum, are identified by the conventional arbiters of the field

as being less than capable. I argue in this dissertation that this view is not warranted; that in at least some of the sites in which my fieldwork was conducted there was evidence of an emergent practice that addressed the lack of resources and which, for the purposes of this dissertation, I identify as nascent post-Fordism.

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Appendix A: The Development of the Wind-Percussion Ensemble

Prior to its institutionalization in the schools of the United States in the 1920s, professional concert bands flourished under the direction of musicians such as Patrick Sarsfield Gilmore, John Philip Sousa, Giuseppe Creatore, and Edwin Franko Goldman. Though community concert bands were ubiquitous, economic changes that occurred during the last quarter of the 19th century and the first quarter of the 20th century caused the decline and eventual demise of the professional concert band. Mark and Gary (1991) suggest that prior to the wide-spread use of automobiles as a means of transportation it was not uncommon for Americans to spend their weekends at amusement parks to which they traveled by train. Amusement parks employed professional concert bands to provide entertainment for their patrons. As more and more Americans acquired cars the network of amusement parks went into decline and an important employer of professional concert bands disappeared. Changes in the infrastructure of the American economy also included the development of radio broadcasting and recorded music, both of which had a significant impact on the employment opportunities for professional musicians.

Instrument manufacturers were keenly aware of attrition in their market. Fonder (1988) describes how an association of instrument manufacturers working under what he calls "The Holton Plan" systematically went about expanding the number of curricular instrumental music programs in the United States between 1920 and 1930. According to Fonder the number of curricular instrumental music programs increased from about 80 in 1920 to between 15,000 and 20,000 by 1930. Keene (1982) found evidence of only 24 extant curricular band programs in the United States in 1920.

One of the mechanisms by which this growth was effected was through music contests. Keene (1982) suggests that music contests that were held in the United States in the later part of the 19th century were the "spiritual descendant(s)" of the Welsh *eisteddfod* (p. 293). Whatever its antecedents the American proclivity for competition seems to be a well-recognized phenomenon. Though school music contests were held as early as 1897, when school choirs competed in Boston at the New England Conference of Educational Workers, and bands may have competed at Emporia Kansas by 1916, the first national school band contest, held in Chicago in June of 1923, seems to have been a pivotal event in the development of wind-percussion ensembles (Keene, 1982; Mark & Gary 1991). The effect of the band contests included (a) the standardization of band instrumentation, (2) the practice of publishing full band scores, (3) increased emphasis on instrumental music in teacher-training programs, and (4) a phenomenal growth in enrollment for school bands (Mark & Gary, 1991).

Battisti argues that Holst's *First Suite in E-flat for Military Band* is "the cornerstone of the wind band repertoire" (1995, p. 3) and, by implication, the instrumentation of the standardized wind-percussion ensemble. Table 1A lists the instruments required in the manuscript edition of Holst's *First Suite* (Matthews, 1984).

Table A1

Instrumentation Specified in the Manuscript Edition of Holst's First Suite in E flat for Military Band

Flute and Piccolo Db	1st Cornets Bb
2 Clarinets in Eb (2nd *ad lib*)	2nd Cornets Bb
2 Oboes (*ad lib*)	2 Trumpets in Eb (*ad lib*)
Solo Clarinet Bb	2 Trumpets in Bb (*ad lib*)
1st Clarinets in Bb ripieno	2 Horns in F
2nd Clarinets Bb	2 Horns in Eb (*ad lib*)
3rd Clarinets Bb	Baritone in Bb (*ad lib*)
Alto Saxophone Eb (*ad lib*)	2 Tenor Trombones (2nd *ad lib*)
Tenor Saxophone Bb (*ad lib*)	Bass Trombone
Bass Clarinet Bb (*ad lib*)	Euphonium
2 Bassoons (2nd *ad lib*)	Bombardons
String Bass (*ad lib*)	
Timpani (*ad lib*)	
Bass Drum	
Cymbals	
Side Drum	
Triangle	
Tambourine	

This list includes the bombardon which is an anachronistic instrument. Matthews' revised edition of *Holst's First Suite in E flat for Military Band* (1984) includes amendments to this list. The amended list is presented in Table A2.

Table A2

Instrumentation Specified in the Revised Edition of Holst's First Suite in E flat for Military Band

Concert Flute & Piccolo	1st Bb Cornet
1st & 2nd Oboe	2nd Bb Cornet
Eb Clarinet	1st Bb Trumpet
Solo Bb Clarinet	2nd Bb Trumpet
1st Bb Clarinet	1st Horn in F
2nd Bb Clarinet	2nd Horn in F
3rd Bb Clarinet	3rd Horn in F
Bb Bass Clarinet	4th Horn in F
1st & 2nd Bassoon	1st Trombone
Eb Alto Saxophone	2nd Trombone
Bb Tenor Saxophone	3rd Trombone
Bb Bass Saxophone	Baritone (B.C.)
String Bass	Baritone (T.C.)
Timpani	Bass
Percussion (Side Drum, Bass Drum, Cymbals, Triangle, Tambourine	

Hunsberger (1994) suggests that Frederick Fennell was largely responsible for the establishment of the "Wind Ensemble Concept." Fennell claimed that his wind ensemble was not meant as an alternative to the instrumentation of the standardized wind-percussion ensemble, but was instead a refinement of that model. The instrumentation for the wind ensemble as prescribed by Fennell (1953) is given in Table A3.

Table A3

The Instrumentation of the Wind Ensemble as Prescribed by Fennell

Reeds	Two flutes and piccolo and/or Alto Flute
	Two oboes and English horn
	One E flat clarinet
	Eight clarinets in B flat or A
	One E flat alto clarinet
	One B flat bass clarinet
	Choir of saxophones – Two alto E flat, tenor B flat, baritone E flat
Brass	Three cornets in B flat and two trumpets in B flat, or five trumpets
	Four horns
	Two euphoniums (Bass clef)
	Three trombones
	One E flat tuba
	One BB flat tuba or two BB flat tubas if desired
	One string bass
Other	Percussion, harp, celeste, piano, organ, harpsichord, solo string instruments, and choral forces, as desired.

Note. From The Wind-Ensemble, by F. Fennell, 1953, *The American Music Teacher, 3*, p. 12. Adapted; permission pending.

The instruments listed above are essentially the same as those listed in the *Instrumental Music 10-20-30* (Alberta Learning, 1991) though this document indicates neither the number of instruments desired nor the division of parts. The Instrumental Music 10-20-30 curriculum specifies ranges for the piccolo, flute, oboe, English horn, bassoon, clarinet, alto and bass clarinets, saxophones, trumpet, horn, trombone,

euphonium, and tuba (1991, p. 7). Percussionists are expected to be able to demonstrate technical competence on mallet instruments (i.e., glockenspiel, xylophone, vibraphone, and marimba), snare drum, tympani, bass drum, cymbals, triangle, tambourine, woodblocks, cowbells, guiro, castanets, maracas, shaker, gong, finger cymbals, afuche, vibraslap and slapstick (whip) (1991, p. 11-12).

Appendix B: A Systemic View of Enrollment Trends and Course Completions in Instrumental Music in Alberta

The data used in preparing this section were drawn from two different sources. The first was from Alberta Learning; I requested and received data on: (a) all of the music courses completed between the 1970/71 and the 2001/02 school years, to the spring of 2002 (Alberta Learning, 2002); and on (b) the student population of schools that had students enrolled in Grades 10, 11, or 12 in the spring of 2003 (Alberta Learning, 2003). The second source was the annual reports of the Minister of Education for the years 1970 to 1988 (Alberta Education, n.d. a – o; 1975; 1974; 1973; 1972). This source was somewhat problematic because of changes in reporting practices.

Three changes in reporting practice are relevant here. First prior to 1966, the record of course enrollment published in the Minister's annual reports did not differentiate music programs; so it is impossible to determine the statistics relevant to instrumental, as opposed to other (i.e., choral and general), music programs before that year. Second, until 1993, these reports contained a complete account of enrollment in all courses offered in Alberta. After that is was no longer reported. Third, after 1988 the annual report does not indicate the total high school student population; therefore it is impossible to determine the percentage of the student population enrolled in Instrumental Music from that date on. In addition, alterations in course designation make it difficult to track relevant changes on a longitudinal basis. Thus these changes in both reporting practice and course designation decrease the confidence in any claims that might be made about Instrumental Music programs in Alberta.

Of interest here is the notion of program discontinuity. Discontinuity occurs when, for a time, no additional students complete a course while enrolled at that school, when prior to that period there had been students so enrolled. Lack of continuity is an indicator of the difficulty of implementing a particular program of courses in senior high schools in Alberta. Discontinuities in the record of course completion are apparent from a simple inspection of the data set. Though discontinuity in the completion of courses within a program is not the same as discontinuity in the program itself, there is an obvious relationship between the two; when all of the courses in a given program are discontinued, the program is also effectively discontinued. It is the discontinuity of Instrumental Music programs that is of interest here.

The curricular provision that allows principals to award credit for Instrumental Music to students who receive music instruction outside of the school obscures the understanding of this relationship between course and program discontinuity. The record of course completions does not identify the locus of students' instruction and so it cannot be used to unequivocally establish the existence of an Instrumental Music program within a given school. Though a student may have received credit for Instrumental Music while she was enrolled at a given school, the fact that she received that credit cannot be construed as evidence that the course was taught in the school itself.

To explicate the kinds of relationships that exist between school population, school grade structure, and continuity in the completion of Instrumental Music, I needed to first determine the size and the structure of all of the schools that offered it. In terms of grade structure: for each school, I identified the grade or category that contained at least one student during the period covered in the record. However, this conceals changes in

the internal grade structure that may occur within schools. This concealment of the possible flux in grade structure, while problematic, is justified. The total populations of the schools represented in the data set varied from 1 to over 5,000. Given that a school could conceivably have only one student, who can be in only one grade or category at a time, there are 262,143 possible grade structure configurations that a school might assume; 58,254 of them could possibly include at least one senior high student. The record shows that there were, in fact, only 106 different grade structure configurations assumed by the 1,172 schools represented in the data. For the purposes of analysis I have grouped schools into categories by their grade structure, as presented in Table B1.

Table B1

Categorization of Alberta Schools by Grade Structures

Category	Grades
A	10-12
B	9-12
C	8-12
D	7-12
E	6-12
F	5-12
G	4-12
H	3-12
I	2-12
J	1-12
K	ECS[a] -12
L	S[b]

Note. [a]ECS = Early Childhood Services. S[b] = Schools with idiosyncratic grade structures, structures represented by only one member, or schools with a special mandate.

From those schools, I separated out the those with discontinuous programs (i.e., those that had at least one termination in completions), from the ones whose programs

were continuous (i.e., those with a continuous record of completion of Instrumental Music from the beginning of the recorded data, including those with a record of a single initiation in the completion of Instrumental Music without a subsequent termination).

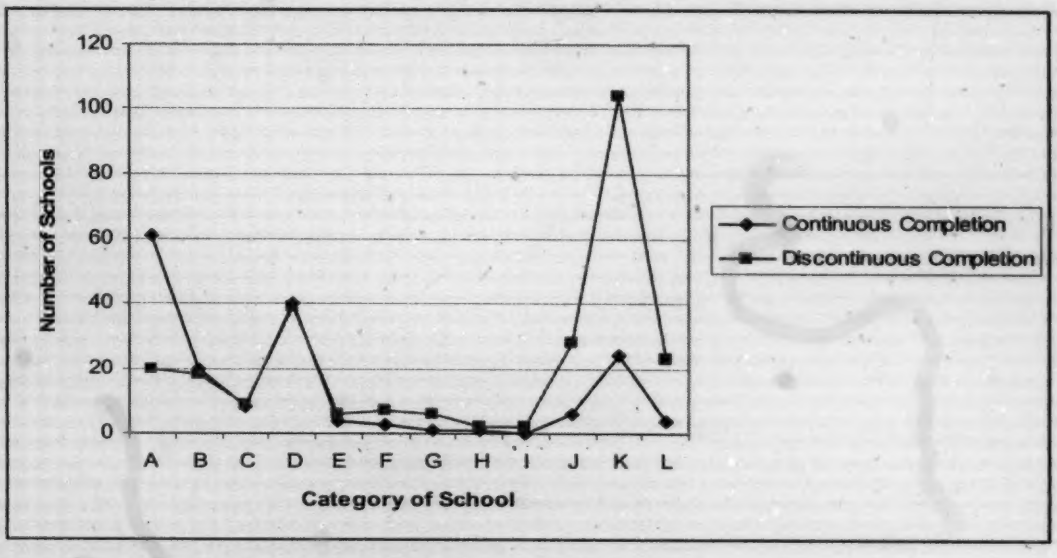

Figure B1. Number of Alberta schools with either continuous or discontinuous completions of Instrumental Music, by category of school.[1]

[1] Based on "Course completions in all music programs in all Alberta schools, 1979 – 2002" [tabulated data] by Alberta Learning, 2003.

These findings are presented in Figure B1 and indicate that (a) approximately three times as many Category A schools (i.e., schools with Grades 10, 11, and 12 students) experienced continuity in the completion of Instrumental Music as experienced discontinuity; (b) Category B, C, and D schools (i.e., schools that start from Grade 7, Grade 8, or Grade 9 respectively and also offer Grades 10, 11, and 12) were just as likely to experience continuity as discontinuity in the completion of Instrumental Music; and (c) schools that enrolled elementary as well as secondary students, were more likely to experience discontinuity than continuity in the completion of Instrumental Music.

Schools comprised only of Grades 10 to 12 were the most likely ones to have Instrumental Music programs that experienced continuity.

This finding was further elaborated on when I looked at the number of schools with continuity in the completion of Instrumental Music as a percentage of the total number of schools in that category (Figure B2). The results suggest a strong, positive relationship between the grade structure of the school and continuity in the completion of Instrumental Music. Schools with only secondary grades (i.e., Categories A through D) have the best record of continuity in the completion of Instrumental Music.

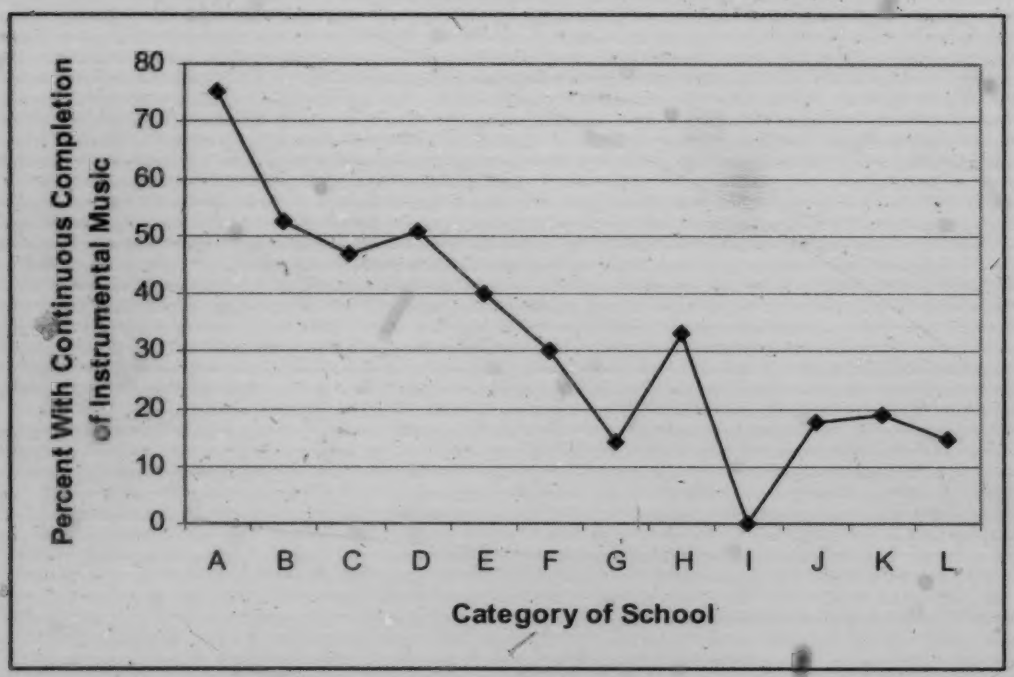

Figure B2. Percent of total Alberta schools within a category that had continuity of their Instrumental Music program.[1]

[1] Based on "Course completions in all music programs in all Alberta schools, 1979 – 2002" [tabulated data] by Alberta Learning, 2003.

As well as determining the grade structure of each school, I determined the average student population of each of the schools that offered Instrumental Music at least

once during the period covered by the record, as shown in Figure B3. The population figures are grouped in increments of 50 and include those schools with up to 1,200 students. Figure B3 shows an inverse relationship between the size of the school population and student completion of Instrumental Music in that school. The number of Alberta's small schools in which students are enrolled in at the time they complete Instrumental Music is relatively large; whereas the number of large schools in which students are enrolled at the time they complete Instrumental Music is relatively small.

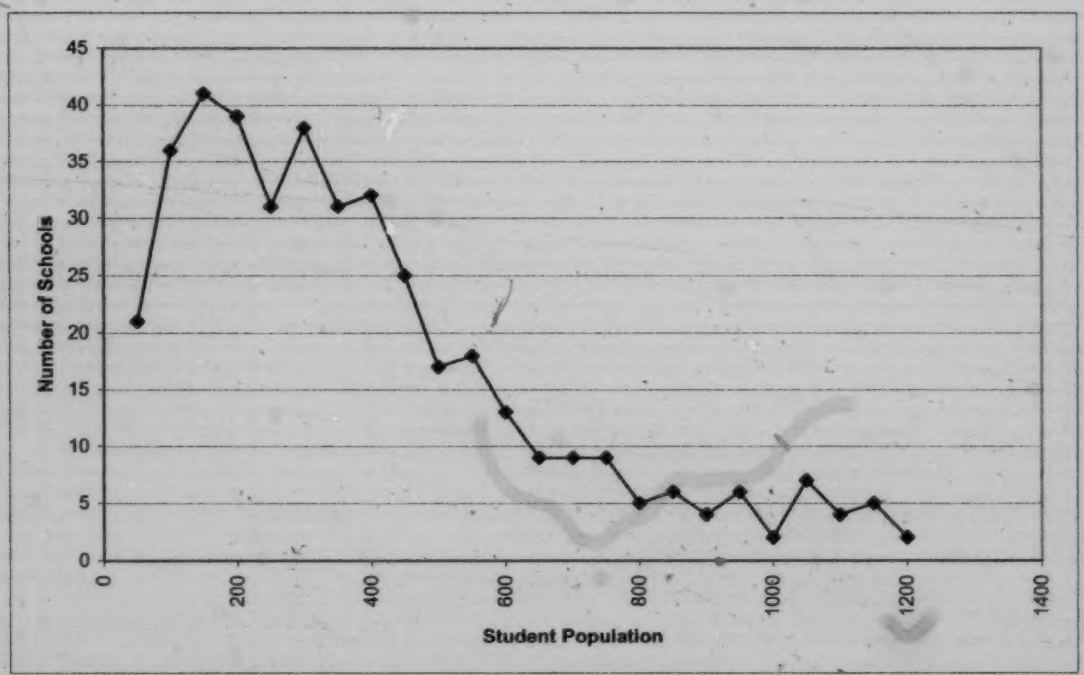

Figure B3. Alberta schools offering Instrumental Music as a function of average student population (in increments of 50).[1]

[1] Based on "Course completions in all music programs in all Alberta schools, 1979 – 2002" [tabulated data] by Alberta Learning, 2003.

When schools are sorted on the basis of population, a strong, positive relationship is shown between the population of the school (i.e., its enrollment) and the percentage of

such schools that had continuity in the completion of Instrumental Music as shown in Figure B4. A threshold appears to be reached when the school population is between 550 and 600 students, a threshold above which the changes in continuity increase considerably. Below that figure no more than 45% of schools experience continuity in the completion of Instrumental Music. Above that figure no less than 70% of schools experience continuity in the completion of Instrumental Music.

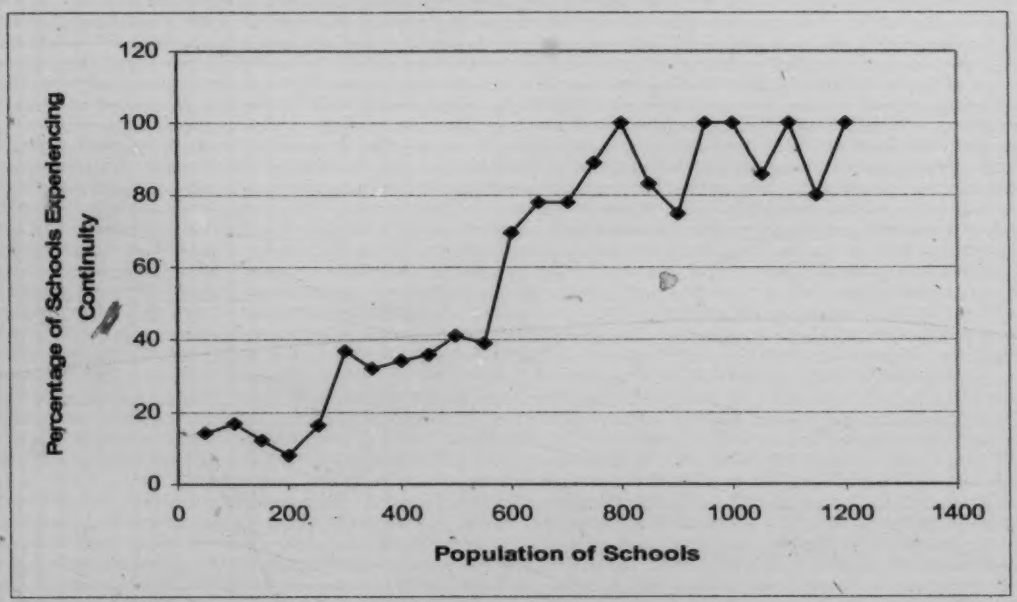

Figure B4. Percentage of Alberta schools with continuous completion of Instrumental Music, as a function of the size of the school's student population.[1]

[1] Based on "Course completions in all music programs in all Alberta schools, 1979 – 2002" [tabulated data] by Alberta Learning, 2003.

The same data as that presented in Figure B4 are presented in a different form in Figure B5; here the schools are ranked by size. Once again the relationship between a school's population and continuity in the completion of Instrumental Music is clear.

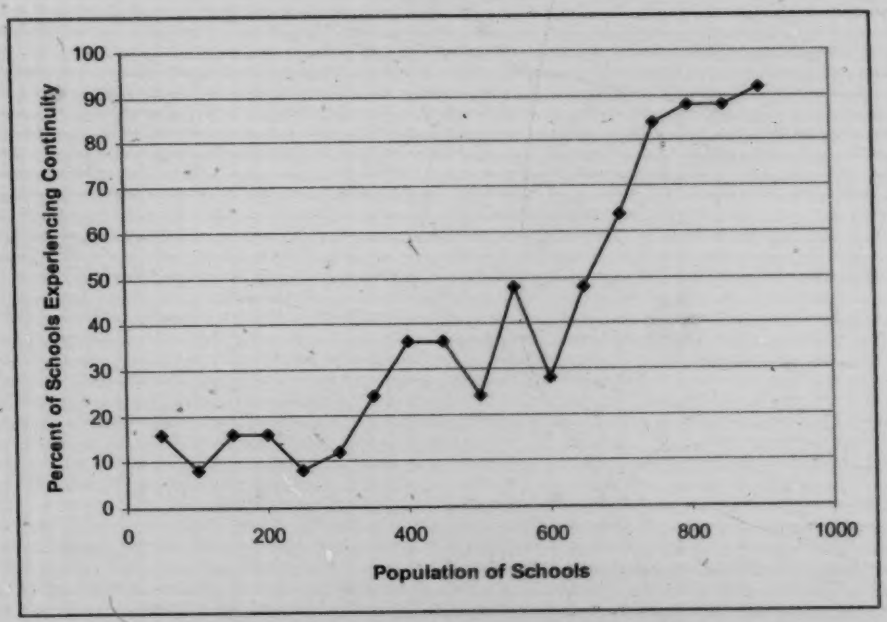

Figure B5. Percentage of Alberta schools with continuous completion of Instrumental Music, as a function of school population (ranked and sorted into groups of 25).[1]

[1] Based on "Course completions in all music programs in all Alberta schools, 1979 – 2002" [tabulated data] by Alberta Learning, 2003.

The analysis presented using Figures B3, B4, and B5 suggests that: (a) the number of small schools that offer Instrumental Music far exceeds the number of large schools offering Instrumental Music, (b) there exists a positive relationships between school population and continuity in the completion of Instrumental Music, and (c) there exists a positive relationship between grade structure and continuity in the completion of Instrumental Music. On the basis of this analysis, one would expect that small schools with grade structures that encompass elementary, junior high, and senior high grades would more frequently experience discontinuity in the completion of Instrumental Music programs than would large senior high schools. This finding has not been documented in the literature.

I now turn to the data on enrollment in Instrumental Music contained in the annual reports of Alberta's Minister of Education.

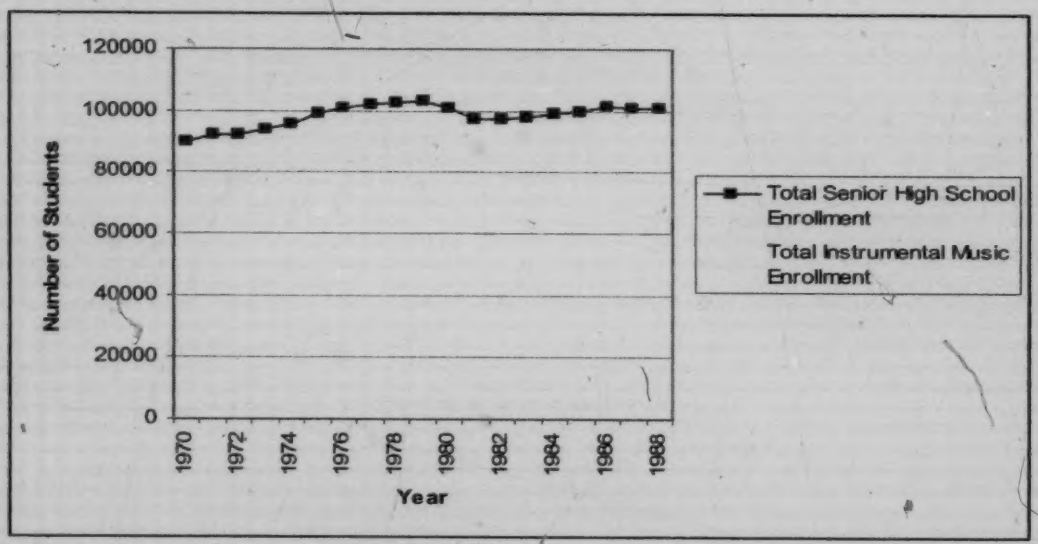

Figure B6. Total senior high student population and total enrollment in Instrumental Music in Alberta, 1971 to 1988.[1]

[1]From data provided by Alberta's Minister of Education in annual reports.

Figure B6 shows the total senior high school population and the total student enrollment in Instrumental Music, for the period 1970 to 1988. For each year during this period the average total senior high school population was some 100,000 and the average number of senior high school students enrolled in Instrumental Music was 5,000. When the number of those enrolled in Instrumental Music is taken as a percentage of the total senior high school population, as shown in Figure B7, the result is 5.46%. On average 5.46% of the total high school population was enrolled in Instrumental Music during this period; the variance was 0.34%. This analysis suggests that there is a strong, positive relationship between school population size and continuity in the completion of Instrumental Music, which is a proxy to Instrumental Music program continuity.

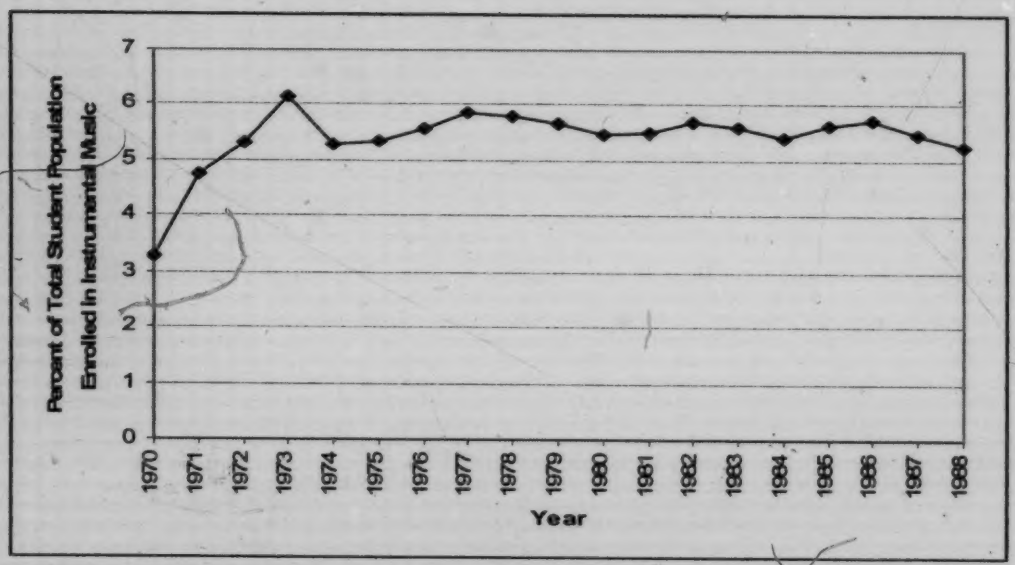

Figure B7. Average enrollment in Instrumental Music in Alberta, expressed as a percentage of total enrollment, from 1970 to 1988.[1]

[1]From data provided by Alberta's Minister of Education in annual reports.

Appendix C: The Teacher's Consent Form

Re: Instrumental Music Programs in Small Secondary Schools in Alberta:
An Ethnographic Study

To Whom It May Concern:

Please be advised that I have been informed about the ethnographic study of the Instrumental Music program at Thomasville School that is being conducted by James Lyle Newton, a doctoral student at the University of Alberta, and that I consent to allow Mr. Newton to conduct research in my classroom.

Please note that I have been advised of my rights as outlined in the GFC Policy Manual, Section 66 entitled "Human Research - University of Alberta Standards for the Protection of Human Research Participants." I am aware that I have the right:

1) To not participate.

2) To withdraw at any time without prejudice to pre-existing entitlements, and to continuing and meaningful opportunities for deciding whether or not to continue to participate.

3) To opt out without penalty and any collected data withdrawn from the data base and not included in the study.

4) To privacy, anonymity, and confidentiality.

Signed,

_____ _____

(Teacher's Signature) (Date)

_____

(Researcher's Signature)

Appendix D: The Administrator's Consent Form

Re: Instrumental Music Programs in Small Secondary Schools in Alberta:
An Ethnographic Study

To Whom It May Concern:

Please be advised that I have been informed about the ethnographic study of the Instrumental Music program at Thomasville School that is being conducted by James Lyle Newton, a doctoral student at the University of Alberta, and that I consent to allow Mr. Newton to conduct research in this school.

Please note that I have been advised of my rights and the rights of the teachers and students of this school as outlined in the GFC Policy Manual, Section 66 entitled "Human Research - University of Alberta Standards for the Protection of Human Research Participants." I am aware that teachers and students of this school and I have the right:

1) To not participate.

2) To withdraw at any time without prejudice to pre-existing entitlements, and to continuing and meaningful opportunities for deciding whether or not to continue to participate.

3) To opt out without penalty and any collected data withdrawn from the data base and not included in the study.

4) To privacy, anonymity, and confidentiality.

Signed,

_____ _____

(Administrator's Signature) (Date)

_____

(Researcher's Signature)

Appendix E: Introductory Remarks

Good morning. My name is Lyle Newton and I am a Doctoral Candidate in Education at the University of Alberta. I am here today because both your music teacher and your principal have agreed to allow me to conduct research in this class. I am required by the University of Alberta Ethics Review Board to inform both you and your parents or legal guardians about the nature and purpose of my research. I also need to obtain your permission, and theirs, to conduct this research. I'd like to take just a few minutes to let you know what I intend to do.

The study that I am conducting is an ethnographic study of Instrumental Music programs in small schools in Alberta. The purpose of the study is to investigate the following question: How do music teachers, administrators, and students who work and study in small secondary schools in Alberta respond to the difficulties that are encountered in an Instrumental Music program that are related to, or a function of, school size?

An ethnographic study is based on both observation of its subjects and discussions with them. I am going to visit this class, and three others in three different schools, once or twice a week over the next 16 weeks and simply watch what happens. Starting in about a month I will be interviewing your principal, your teacher, and hopefully some of you and your parents independently on three separate occasions. The purpose of these interviews is to try to come to a mutual understanding of the events and interactions that I witness.

Part of the reason for my being here is to fulfill the requirements for a Doctorate in Education. Those requirements will be complete once I've written and defended a doctoral dissertation. As I've already indicated my interests are in how Instrumental Music is implemented in small schools. Data that has been collected by Alberta Learning over the past 35 years suggests that establishing viable music programs in small schools is problematic. The doctoral dissertation that I intend to write will, in all likelihood, include findings that may impact the implementation of Instrumental Music programs in Alberta and possibly elsewhere. These findings may be published in professional journals like *The Journal of Research in Music Education* or *The Alberta Journal of Educational Research.*

You should understand clearly that I am not here to evaluate your teacher, yourselves, or the program. In the dissertation that results from this study I will not be suggesting that this program ought to be changed in any way, that your teacher's competence is in question, or that the students in the program are not achieving the objectives of the Instrumental Music curriculum. To the contrary I suspect that any recommendations that I might make are more than likely to include changes to the curriculum to accommodate, and thereby validate, the practices that I see.

You should know that this research is compliant with the University of Alberta Standards for the Protection of Human Research Participants [GFC Policy Manual, Section 66 [http://www.ualberta.ca/~unisecr/policy/sec66.html]. You have the right

(a) to not participate.

(b) to withdraw at any time without prejudice to pre-existing entitlements, and to continuing and meaningful opportunities for deciding whether or not to continue to participate.

(c) to opt out without penalty and any collected data withdrawn from the data base and not included in the study.

(d) to privacy, anonymity and confidentiality.

The question of how you can exercise your right to not participate is interesting in light of the fact that both your teacher and your principal have already agreed to allow me to conduct my study here. If you would like to exercise this right I will agree not to record any of my observations of interactions in which you are a primary participant. You as an individual are not my primary research interest; my primary research interest is the class itself and your teacher's strategies for dealing with emergent problems.

You should also know that I am bound by the Code of Professional Conduct of the Alberta Teachers' Association. Section 12 of this code reads: "The teacher does not undermine the confidence of pupils in other teachers." Section 13 reads: "The teacher criticizes the professional competence or professional reputation of another teacher only in confidence to proper officials and after the other teacher has been informed of the criticism, subject only to section 23 of the Teaching Professional Act."

If you have any questions I'd be more than happy to try to address them.

Appendix F: Information Letter to the Parents of Instrumental Music Students at Thomasville School

February 23, 2005

Dear Parents:

This letter is intended to provide you with information about a research project that will be conducted at your child's school over a five-month period beginning in February of 2005. The purpose of the research project is to investigate how music teachers, administrators, students, and parents respond to problems associated with Instrumental Music programs in small schools in Alberta. My name is James Lyle Newton, and I am a doctoral student at the University of Alberta and a music teacher in the Sturgeon School Division. The research is being conducted to fulfill the requirements for a Doctorate of Education from the University of Alberta.

The planned research is an ethnographic study of instrumental music programs in small schools in Alberta. Data will be collected through observation and interviews in four schools located within 100 kilometers of Wattsville. Approximately 25 hours of observations and 12 interviews, each an hour in length, are scheduled for each school. Three separate interviews are planned with the music teacher, an administrator, a group of volunteer students, and a group of volunteer parents from each school.

The plan for this study has been reviewed for its adherence to ethical guidelines and approved by the Faculties of Education and Extension Research Ethics Board (EE REB) at the University of Alberta. For questions regarding participant rights and ethical conduct of research, contact the Chair of the EE REB at (780) 492-3751.

This research complies with standards established by the University of Alberta and reflected in the GFC Policy Manual Section 66 entitled "Human Research - University of Alberta Standards for the Protection of Human Research Participants." This document is available online at http://www.ualberta.ca/~unisecr/policy/sec.66.html. These standards guarantee that you have a right:

(a) to not participate.

(b) to withdraw at any time without prejudice to pre-existing entitlements, and to continuing and meaningful opportunities for deciding whether or not to continue to participate.

(c) to opt out without penalty and any collected data withdrawn from the data base and not included in the study.

(d) to privacy, anonymity and confidentiality.

(e) to safeguards for security of data.

To ensure confidentiality, raw data will be coded and stored in a locked office to which only the investigators will have access. Normally data is retained for a period of five years post-publication, after which it may be destroyed.

If you have any concerns, questions or complaints with respect to this study you may contact me at my home by phone (780 416-0053) or email (lnewton@sturgeon.ab.ca). You may contact my doctoral supervisor, Dr. Tom Dust, or the Chair of the Department of Secondary Education at (780) 492-3674.

I look forward to working with you, your son or daughter, and the administrators and music teacher at your child's school over the next several months.

Sincerely,

James Lyle Newton

Appendix G: The Parental Consent Form

Re: Instrumental Music Programs in Small Secondary Schools in Alberta:
An Ethnographic Study

To Whom It May Concern:

Please be advised that I have been informed about the ethnographic study of the Instrumental Music program at Thomasville School that is being conducted by James Lyle Newton, a doctoral student at the University of Alberta, and that I consent to allow

my son/daughter _____ to participate in the
(Please print student's name)
study.

Please note that I have been advised of my child's rights as outlined in the GFC Policy Manual, Section 66 entitled "Human Research - University of Alberta Standards for the Protection of Human Research Participants." I am aware that my son/daughter has the right:

(a) To not participate.

(b) To withdraw at any time without prejudice to pre-existing entitlements, and to continuing and meaningful opportunities for deciding whether or not to continue to participate.

(c) To opt out without penalty and any collected data withdrawn from the data base and not included in the study.

(d) To privacy, anonymity and confidentiality.

Signed,

_____ _____
(Parent's/Legal Guardian's Signature) (Date)

_____
Researcher's Signature

Appendix H: Schedule of Observations and Interviews

Observation and Interview[a] Dates Noted by Site and Time[b]

02/17: S/80	03/14: D/120; L/80	04/19: D/120; Int/DS; L/80
02/18: D/80; L/80	03/15: S/80	
02/22: D/80	03/16: l/80	04/20: Int/SS
02/23: T/80; L/80	03/17: T/80	04/21: D/160; L/80
02/24: S/80	03/18: D/120; L/80	04/22: Int/TS
02/25: D/120; L/80	03/22: D/40; Int/DP	04/25: T/80; L/80
02/28: T/80; D/40	03/24: T/80	05/26: S/80
03/01: D/160; L/80	04/04: S/80	05/27: T/80
03/02: S/80	04/05: D/160; L/80	05/30: S/80
03/03: T/40; L/80	04/06: T/80	06/01: Int/TP; Int/TT
03/07: S/80	04/07: D/160; L/80	06/02: Int/LP; Int/LT
03/09: S/80	04/14: Int/ST	06/03: Int/LT
03/10: T/80; L/80	04/15: T/80; Int/LP	06/06: Int/DP; Int/DT
03/11: D/120	04/18: Int/SP	06/07: Int/ST; Int/SP

Note. [a]Int = interview, followed by site, followed by role: P = principal, S = student, T = teacher). [b]Site: D = Davisville, L = Louisville, S = Stevensville, T = Thomasville; number following site is duration in minutes.

Appendix I: Questionnaire About Extracurricular Participation in Music

1) How often have you practiced, apart from your regular participation in the band class, in the past month?
   a. Not at all
   b. Once
   c. Twice
   d. Three times
   e. More than three times (Please specify) _____

2) Do you own your own instrument?
   a. Yes
   b. No

3) Do you play more than one instrument?
   a. Yes
   b. No

If you have answered 'Yes' to question 3 above, what instruments do you play?

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4) Do you, or have you ever, received private instruction on any musical instrument?

If you have answered 'Yes' to question 4 above, please indicate what instrument you received private instruction on;

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5) Have you in the past month bought a CD or downloaded music from the internet?

If you either purchased a CD or downloaded music from the internet in the past month please provide as complete a list as possible on the reverse side of this questionnaire.

6) Which ensembles do you play in?
   a. Concert band
   b. Stage band
   c. Jazz combo

Appendix J: Performers and Genres Purchased or Downloaded by Student Subjects

Performers:
Abba
Aerosmith
Alexisonfire
Anti-Flag
Atreyu
B. B. King
Bad Religion
Bender
Big and Rich (2)
Billy Talent
Black Eyed Peas
Blink 182 (3)
Bowling for Soup
Brad Paisley
Broken Social Scene
Burning for Buddy:
A Tribute to Buddy Rich
Catch ZZ
Chris Botti
Cold Play
Crossfade
Def Leppard
Enya
Eric Clapton (2)
Everyday Sunday
Finch (2)
From First to Last, From
Atom to Ashes
Garth Brooks
Girl Next Door
Good Charlotte (3)
Gorillaz
Green Day (3)
Grits
Hawk Nelson
Hidden in Plain View
Howie Day
Hysterics
Ian Tyson
Jay-Z
Jessica Simpson
Jimi Hendrix
Jimmy Eat World
John Cena (2)
John Mayer
Keith Urban (3)
Kelly Clarkson
Kiss
Korn (2)
Kutless
Kyle Kiabko
Lifehouse
Limp Bizkit
Lisa Marie Presley
Lonestar
Marion
Maroon Five
Match Book Romance
Matthew Good Band
Metric
Michael Buble (2)
Motley Crue
My Chemical Romance (7)
Natalie Bedingfield
No Use for a Name
NOFX
NWA
Outkast
Ozzy Osbourne
Page Avenue
Paul Brandt (3)
Plain White Tees
Rajaton
Ramstein
Rascal Flats
Rasmus
Red Hot Chili Peppers
Reliant K
Rob Zombie
Rod Stewart
Santana
Saves the Day
Scooby Doo (Soundtrack)
Seether (2)
Shark Tale (Soundtrack)
Simple Plan (2)
Slip Knot
Snoop Dog
Story of the Year
Sum 41 (2)
System of a Down (4)
Taking Back Sunday
The Corrs
The Desert Sessions
The Killers
The Kubasonics
The Mars Volta
The Shins
The Used (3)
Tim McGraw (2)
Toby Keith (3)
Toby Mac
Tupac
Twister
Usher
Van Halen
Vision
Zre Six

Genres:
2005 Warped Tour
Compilation
Classic Rock
Contemporary Worship
Country (6)
Hip-hop
Instrumental
Punk (3)
Rap
Rock

Techno

Note. Number of times a performer or genre was identified are indicated in parentheses. In addition, one response as illegible, two respondents indicated that there were too many items to be listed, and three respondents indicated that they had either downloaded or purchased music but did not identify that material.